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What Is The Meaning Of Segregation For Prisoners

Creating a space for
survival by reframing
contextual power

Dr. Stephan D. Kirby: PhD, MSc; PgC(L&T);
UCPPD(L&T); Dip MDO; RMN

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Creating a space for survival by reframing contextual power

Dr. Stephan D. Kirby:
PhD; MSc; PgC(L&T); UCPPD(L&T); Dip MDO; RMN

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Teesside
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This Traveller's Journeys

"One should always have a definite objective in a walk as in life - it is so much more satisfying to reach a target by personal effort than to wander aimlessly. An objective is an ambition and life without ambition is well, aimless wandering".
(Wainwright, 1973, piv)

"Plan your own marathon and do something never done before, something you will enjoy, a route that will take you to places often read about but never yet seen, you will be on your own, unhampered by human beings, relying on your own resources to complete what you set out to do. Preferably go alone and do it off your own bat, for it is the solitary walker, always, who most closely identifies himself with his surroundings, who observes as he goes along, who really feels the satisfaction of achievement. If you must have a friend, choose a quiet one". (ibid, pxiii)



Dedication

This Thesis is For Caleb & Heidi with all my love

My beautiful, wonderful, grandchildren - my reason for continuing, especially during the times when all I wanted to do was press all the 'delete' buttons. Thank you for filling my life with joy and beauty.



Acknowledgements

To: Mam, Dad, Diane, Charlotte, Ashleigh

The reasons for sending you my thanks and my love are far greater than I can express in words. I am eternally grateful to you for innumerable reasons; but mainly just for being there and for being who you are and for having faith and patience.

..... and Chris (Professor Chris Stevenson) - The Boss (my (not so) quiet travelling companion)

My inspiration and motivation; slave driver and guru; literary guide and literary critic; mentor and tormentor; but most of all my dear, dear, friend. Thank you for keeping me on track but also for giving me enough freedom to wander away and find my own, alternative, paths, though always to return. Without you, in your many and varied guises, and without your encouragement and belief in me, none of this would have happened. If I have been even half as good a student as you have been Supervisor, then I am happy. It has been worth every minute. My eternal thanks and love.

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Professor Andrew Coyle & Professor Agnes Higgins

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The Prisoners of The Segregation Unit and the Governors and Staff of a certain Category A Prison

Many thanks to you all, without you this research and thesis just wouldn't have happened.

And to the supporting cast

To the many friends and colleagues who I have bored and driven mad with my ramblings but who allowed me to bounce my ideas off them - this helped me form and frame my thinking, even if they did not understand what I was on about as I just needed to hear things out loud to make sense of them.

And ... To Alfred Wainwright - for giving me something to fill my time with once this is all over (at least for a fortnight) - and an incentive to finish - by persevering with, and completing, this thesis made me realise *I can do anything* I set my mind to - including AW's 192 miles.

And To Buddha

gate gate pāragate pārasaṃgate bodhi svāhā

sabbe satta avera hontu;
sabbe satta abyapajjha hontu;
sabba satta anigha hontu;
sabba satta dukkha muccantu;
sabba satta sukhi attanam pariharantu.

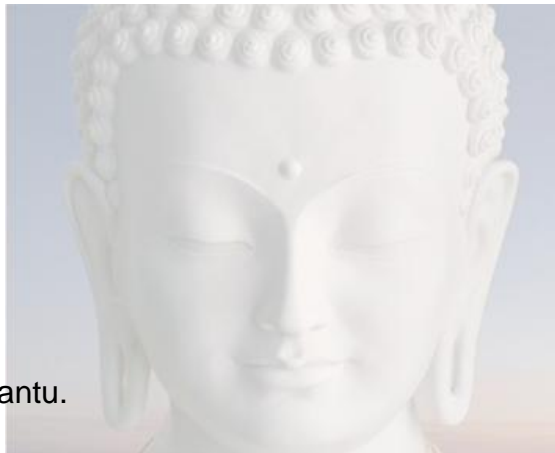


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Abstract

Background:

Segregation, within the context of this study, is the removal of a prisoner from the wider prison to an environment that is regimented and controlling, and functions through enforced solitude. There is very little research that explores this environment from the perspective of the prisoners who experience it. By using the voices of the prisoners this study provides rich description of the conceptual understanding of how they and resolved their segregation experiences.

Research Aim:

The aim of this research was to develop a grounded theory of how prisoners gave meaning to their segregated environment experience.

Methodology:

This study was guided by a constructivist epistemology and the principles and process of grounded theory (Constructivist Grounded Theory) as described by Glaser, Strauss, and Charmaz. Data was gathered from a participant group of prisoners who were experiencing, or had experienced within the previous two months, time in segregation, from one specific Category A prison, as well as comparable case studies. Data was collected through semi structured interviews, and case study documentary analysis, and analysed using the concurrent processes of constant comparative analysis, data collection, and theoretical sampling.

Results:

The participants expressed that the main concern of their time in segregation was a desire to survive this experience. They expressed this desire, and the actions and behaviours necessary to achieve it, through a process conceptualised as *reframing contextual power*. This has three 'subcategories' '*Power Posturing*', '*Power Positioning*', and '*Power Playing*', each comprising of further subdivisions of the conceptualisation of the participants main concern. These consisted of '*Knowing Fixed Rules*', '*Reading Emergent Rules*', '*Relating*', '*Resistance*', *Being Bad*',

'Being Mad', and *'Being Cool'*. Power was the major interlinking concept and this was fundamental to the strategies and actions necessary for the participants to achieve their main concern. While presented as three distinct 'subcategories' they are neither independent nor hierarchical, rather they are interconnected and interlinked. The participants were active in the utilisation and enactment of power actions and not passive recipients of power. A theoretical exploration of the power inherent in *reframing contextual power* demonstrated that no one theory or approach can sufficiently explain power within this context. It is proposed that, drawing from a number of theorists, an integrated approach to viewing and understanding such power is required to allow for a more sophisticated understanding of how the participants *reframe contextual power*.

Conclusions:

The findings of this study provide a method of understanding how the participants engaged with, and utilised complex strategies to survive the segregated environment experience. The findings also contribute to how we understand the processes of power within this current (and similar) context(s). I consider that the uniqueness of this thesis is important as it contributes to the extant body of knowledge in this field and thus offers a salient message relating to the (potential) future of segregation and the solitary confinement of prisoners.

Chapter 1

Introduction

“A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step”.
(Lao-Tzu, 604 BC - 531 BC)

The block; solitary confinement; Seg; the hole; the chokey; the cooler; the Annexe.

Segregation

The (adjudicated, forcible or voluntary) removal of a person from an environment characterised by its social interaction to one that is austere, regimented, controlling and specialising in enforced solitude.

Segregation

A social system that provides separate facilities for minority groups (thefreedictionary.com).

Segregation

The majority of people have a limited and simplistic (if not negative) perspective of segregation, as a consequence of the negative images portrayed by the media and their reporting of just the tales that make tabloid fodder. The overall aim of this research was to develop a substantive theory of how prisoners gave meaning to their segregated environment experience. This was achieved through exploration of segregation as an independent unit, a unique regime and territorial concept within the prison system. By using the range of voices of the prisoners (not just those reported within the media) a richer description and explication and thus greater understanding was achieved of how the prisoner's main concerns were conceptualised and how they resolved these main concerns when in segregation. As this research was interested in how the prisoners resolved and managed the process of segregation and achieved the resolution of their main concerns no other parties were

considered for this research, specifically the other social group within segregation: The Prison Officers. Data gathering, analysis and interpretation was achieved by way of conceptual interpretation and the utilisation of a Constructivist Grounded Theory.

Whilst this approach will be explained in greater depth in the Chapter 3 (Methodological and Philosophical Issues), a brief introduction and explanation will be offered here.

For the bulk of my working years I have worked for organisations that have allowed me varying associations with, access to, and work within a number of Her Majesty's Prisons (as well as a range of other secure environments). As a consequence of such working environments within both the health and penal secure spheres, I have developed a robust, working knowledge and understanding of the practicalities of such environments. The result is that I am grounded in psychosocial, relational and organisational processes surrounding prisons and other secure confines and their inhabitants without ever having been formally employed by Her Majesty's Prison Service, without which I feel this research would have been difficult and lacking in robustness and sophisticated conceptual and contextual understanding. It is being 'attuned' to the prison environment that allowed me to feel comfortable in these environments and with the majority of the people within. It was this notion of being aware of, and utilising, my experiences that generated the original impetus and initiative which developed into this current Doctoral study. This professional involvement and interest in these secure environments and in unique and rare groups of people was complimented by an academic interest which culminated, a number of years ago, in an MSc Thesis that had, as its sample group, convicted and imprisoned child sexual offenders. These two aspects (professional and academic) of my professional and personal interest in rare and vulnerable groups were fundamental in my absorption of, and into, such environments. This process of absorption has occurred naturally over years of involvement with various social, organisational and political environments of Her Majesty's Prison Service.

Describing such knowledge acquisition as 'knowing from', Shotter (1984, 1993a, 1993b) refers to the unique 'interaction-specific knowledge' that a person both obtains from, and needs to function in, a specific situation. By virtue of its "open endedness and embodiment in the hurly-burly of everyday conversation" (Shotter, 1993a, p20), this level of knowledge provides the opportunity for give-and-take in any (and in this case, the research focused) interactions that allows for the negotiation of agreed meanings. While it is acknowledged (Shotter, 1993) that we should still attempt to disentangle our perceptions and understandings from the phenomenon being studied, it is impossible to divorce and be dissociated from any naturally acquired knowledge and socialised experience, during any phase of the research process. It was this, and its utilisation within the overall research process that was initially termed Experiential Alertness (Kirby, 2007).

As this study progressed through its initial stages and through development and refinement of the methodological approach to be used, the concept of experiential alertness (Kirby, 2007) emerged. At the early stages of methodological development I felt that experiential alertness (Kirby, 2007) was, as a (self generated) concept as well as a research practice, different from, though complimentary to, some of the epistemological issues in Grounded Theory, namely reflexivity. Therefore, I persevered with its conceptualisation, development and application in the belief that this would allow for the development of a more robust and appropriate research methodology. Further details of this concept and its development and explication can be found in Kirby (2007), a copy of which can also be found in Appendix 1. I believed that this would enhance grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and thus enable the development of a methodological design that was capable of producing research that was robust and fit for its purpose. Therefore the term experiential alertness became linked to grounded theory to give a unique perspective on this particular methodology. The term was intended

to explain and rationalise the use of my pre-existing knowledge base and involvement in this and similar environments.

I believed, at this early developmental stage, that the concept of experiential alertness was unique. For with each passing year as experience and contextual knowledge's are amassed, with every prisoner and member of staff I met, with each event and incident that occurred, with every tale and anecdote heard, the more I was immersed. Alertness was seen to be the ability to apply this experience and knowledge in an environmentally sensitive manner, through actions, discourse and understanding. The environment and social context were believed to allow the elements of 'experience' and 'alertness' to be mutually co-influential. Over a number of years the more I engaged with, and became socialised and acclimatised to, the environmental context of this study, the prison cultures (both organisational and prisoner) and the social environment (though especially the Segregation Unit) and the more experiences I encountered and was involved in, my understanding and knowledge grew and deepened. This ensured that, with frequency of contact, the more knowledgeable and contextual my interactions and experiences became.

As time progressed and as methodological development and enhancement continued, it became apparent that constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) was an appropriate version to utilise in preference to the 'classic' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) or 're-formulated' (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) approaches. So it was that the chosen methodology became to be termed Experientially Alert Constructivist Grounded Theory, where experiential alertness and constructivism would support, influence, and enhance each other, while the constructivist grounded theory is a widely acknowledged and utilised approach to undertaking grounded theory research. It was around this time of combining experiential alertness with constructivist grounded theory that I successfully gained publication of the aforementioned article describing and explicating this methodological approach.

As the research progressed, the perceived boundaries, differences, and mutual influences, between experiential alertness and constructivist grounded theory became less apparent, and less distinct. Eventually it became evident, after much soul searching and discussion that the 'concept' of experiential alertness should be removed and discarded for it had become obvious that experiential alertness was in reality constructivist reflexivity. So experiential alertness was removed and the chosen methodology reverted, or finally developed into, constructivist grounded theory. Upon reflection I feel that in the early stages, while I was developing an awareness of the differing methodological approaches within the grounded theory genre, and developing a deeper understanding of these, I, instinctively or subconsciously, had a tendency (preference) towards constructivism without any conscious awareness that this was happening. I presumed that it was my need to understand and grow that produced experiential alertness before I even encountered constructivist grounded theory and came to realise, and appreciate, the obvious similarities to, and subconscious influences, of constructivism and constructivist grounded theory.

In essence I feel that, without being aware of it, I had been using a constructivist approach in designing and conceptualising this research, and the development of experiential alertness was simply these tendencies and inherent knowledge's rising to the surface before I was fully and 'formally' aware of and introduced to the work of Kathy Charmaz and constructivist grounded theory. Many years ago this research started life as a grounded theory approach which then progressed, via the conceptualisation, adoption and development of an experiential alertness approach, and the 'discovery' of constructivist grounded theory and their incorporation into an experientially alert constructivist grounded theory methodology. Conceptual awareness and understanding is such that now I accept that this research has all along been, and thus, is ultimately, a constructivist grounded theory approach.

This particular methodology consists of systematic, flexible approaches to collecting and analysing qualitative data (Charmaz, 2006) to construct theories that are grounded in the data themselves. This allows the researcher to direct, manage and streamline data collection and construct an original analysis of the data (Charmaz, 2006). This inductive method of data collection (Morse, 2001) seeks to create meaning through analysis and theory modelling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Data forms the foundation of the theory and the analysis generates the concepts constructed. This is driven through the process of coding and categorising (Charmaz, 2006) and as the process progresses the categories become more theoretical. The generation of such codes (also described as action codes) helps researchers make constant comparisons between people, data, incidents and categories (Glaser, 1978, 1992). Ultimately, an abstract theoretical understanding, or 'grounded theory' is arrived at (Charmaz, 2006). The constructivist stance places priority on the phenomena of study and sees both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants and other data sources (Charmaz, 2006, see also Charmaz, 1990, 2000, 2001; Charmaz & Mitchell, 1996). It accepts that knowledge is created through interaction of the researcher and the researched (Lincoln, 1992). Therefore, the researcher is inseparable from whatever can be known in the overall construction of a particular reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). This enables the study of *how* and *why* participants construct meanings and actions in specific situations. A constructivist approach not only theorises the interpretive work that participants do, but also acknowledges that the resulting theory is an interpretation (Charmaz, 2000, 2002; Bryant, 2002). Such a theory *depends* on the researcher's view; it does not, and cannot, stand outside of it. Constructivist grounded theory, therefore, reshapes the interactive relationship between researcher and participants, and provides the reader with a sense of the analytical lenses through which the researcher gazes at the data (Mills, Chapman, Bonner & Francis, 2007).

A reflexive stance is taken by researchers, using this constructivist grounded theory approach, towards *how* their theories evolve especially on how both researchers and participants interpret meanings and actions. This is particularly so in that constructivist (grounded theory) researchers are reflexive about their *own* interpretations as well as those of their participants. So in essence, the practice of grounded theory allows the researcher to follow the leads in the data, as they see them, while constructivist grounded theory lets the researcher go one step further by helping them make, the researcher's and the participant's, vantage points and implications explicit (Charmaz, 2006). Gatekeepers can be used proactively and productively to ensure relative ease of access, especially in sites that are unique, rare and include vulnerable participants. Data collection methods (eg: Interview Schedules) can be conceptually and theoretically informed during their development due to previous experiences, contact or immersion in this area. Interviews themselves can become dynamic and a beneficial mutual learning relationship consisting of two people who have equal, yet divergent, knowledge and experiences, and who both can bring positives to the benefit of the interview scenario as well as the co-participant. Such positives, especially from the researcher's stance demonstrates to the (aforementioned unique or vulnerable) participants that the researcher knows, understands, has experience of and therefore appreciates whatever issue is being discussed. By drawing on the researcher's experiences, as well as, theoretical and conceptual understanding of core, associated and peripheral issues, all serve in the enhancement of the analysis, theorising and ultimate construction of the constructivist grounded theory. So, it is to this end, that this is the methodological approach adopted for this research.

This research celebrates and pays tribute to the power of narrative and discourse, through the exploration of the snapshots of the lives and experiences of the participants who have encountered segregation. Throughout this work I have endeavoured to convey to the reader the richness and uniqueness of the data, the environment, and the sample/participants themselves. I hope to convey the pros and cons of

researching within the prison setting as well as the positive aspects derived from interviewing such a sample group. This will allow me to describe some of the minutiae of the environment and the sample without (unwittingly or unwillingly) breaching any codes of confidentiality, imposed by research ethical requirements and Her Majesty's Prison Service.

This introductory chapter commenced with an overview of the study and its initial aims and objectives. It now offers an insight into the participant's environment with the intention of giving the reader a rare glimpse into, and an understanding of, the world of the sample group. An introduction to some of the major methodological features and issues pertaining to the research process is also provided, although this area will be further illuminated and expanded upon as this work progresses. To assist in this introductory insight into segregation, The Segregation Unit (the research environment) will be introduced, though not from any literature based source, this is taken from my own perspective and appraisal of the experience as I engaged with this research.

It is worth stressing at this early juncture that throughout this thesis information is drawn from a range of sources: both anecdotal and general comments from, and about, the prisoners and their regime, Her Majesty's Prison Service staff and documents, official reports on other segregation units, as well as the actual data collated during the collection phases of this research which includes the voices of the participants. Therefore all such data are assembled in order to create a back drop to the study.

There are, in England and Wales, four levels of prison security: "A' to 'D' in descending order" (Coyle, 2005, p135) to one of which each convicted prisoner is allocated. This system was introduced following the recommendations of the Mountbatten Report (Home Office, 1966). Mountbatten's definition of each category was as follows:

"Category A is for those prisoners whose escape would be highly dangerous to the public, or the police, or the security of the State" (ibid,

para15). Mountbatten's categories have subsequently been reviewed and three subdivisions of Category A have been introduced. The majority "of Category A prisoners are defined as 'standard risk'. Those who require additional supervision are 'high risk'. A small number are defined as 'exceptional risk' and are allocated to special secure units within the dispersal prisons" (Bryans & Jones, 2001, p103).

Category B is for those prisoners whom the "very highest conditions of security are not necessary, but for whom escape must be made very difficult, and who ought to be kept in very secure conditions" (Home Office, 1966, paras15 & 217).

Category C is for those prisoners who "cannot be trusted in open conditions, but who do not have the ability or resources to make a determined escape attempt. For them there should be prisons with sufficient defences to make escape difficult" (ibid).

Category D is for those prisoners who "can reasonably be entrusted to serve their sentences in open conditions" (ibid, para217).

To supplement this categorisation, there is also an 'escape list'. This list comprises of those prisoners who have escaped, or who have been discovered making a real attempt to escape. No one "on the escape list will be less than security Category B" (Coyle, 2005, p137).

The present Dispersal system came about following The Radzinowicz Report (Radzinowicz, 1968). This recommended that a dispersal policy be adopted for Category A prisoners, in that they should be dispersed with Category B prisoners in specially designed high security training prisons. This led to a heightened focus on security and had implications for both the "fortification and the regimes internally" (Scott, 2007, p53). Security was privileged at the expense of humanitarian goals such as education, training, association, and living conditions. Prisons became increasingly

characterised by the intense and vigorous enforcement of the priorities of discipline, surveillance, and control (Sim, 1991).

The Functioning of Segregation

Having successfully negotiated the protracted and convoluted process of gaining the obligatory official security clearance, arriving at the prison (especially if it is your first time within such an austere establishment) can be daunting, for you are entering an environment unlike any you have possibly ever experienced before. You enter the Main Gate Entrance and at this point you are about to commence the security clearance process.

The first thing that is apparent is the prominent demonstration and enforcement of security and how everything that occurs supports and ensures this. When you enter the entry portal you are questioned and quizzed, your credentials are scrutinised, your right of entry is checked to see if it is supported by the relevant authorities within the establishment, the letters authorising your entry and confirming your identity and legitimacy to enter are checked and re-checked and eventually ratified. As you pass from this outer portal to the next phase, though not yet within the prison proper, the process is repeated again. This is with, and to, a different set of staff, and in addition to a repeat of the previous security measures you also have your body searched and your possessions scrutinised and X- rayed. All of this is under a constant gaze of human and electronic eyes, but as you are aware this is necessary and you are compelled to follow the security requirements of the establishment, so this is to be accepted, for all this is the norm and natural.

As you leave the secure airlock (with your ID badge secured to your body and clearly visible for all to see that you are who your photograph says you are) you enter the inner sanctum of the prison and the difference to the entrance and its contrast to your expectations - expectations borne of media induced imagery - is markedly evident. This is no grim, austere

world as would be expected, indeed in this initial compound, rarely seen by prisoners, and used as a thoroughfare for staff and (official) visitors, you are greeted by grass, flowers and benches, the antithesis of media induced expectations. Such imagery produces a jaded viewpoint, whilst it is true that some things fit into this view, some things do not. The gardens are pristine, with geometrically precise flower beds and the lawns weave their way around the islands of colour. Entering this initial access compound your eyes are drawn to these oases of peace and serenity which are in perfect juxtaposition to the perimeter of brick, wire, and electronics you have just passed through.

As you progress through the compound your attention inevitably raises just mere feet, and it is filled with the most visible and tangible tool of control of this environment. The 40 foot wall, with its semi pipe top (convex side inwards) and its mirror image unscalable wire fence, serve to create a double skin effect, hiding a battery of electronic detection devices. The arterial compound (one of many identical) you are passing through is bisected by tendons made of high tension small gauge metal fencing, each with its electronically controlled gate and, perched high on poles, fences and walls, the CCTV cameras. There are in excess of 1,000 people within these walls at any one time, from both sides of the judicial barrier, yet the peace and tranquillity you first encounter belies that fact and is more aptly reminiscent of a garden of remembrance.

Leaving the compound you begin to enter the heart of the prison. Your escort pulls a large bunch of keys attached to a chain from his belt pouch. He unlocks and opens the door, reaches in and opens the internal security gate. Once through, and after cautioning you to wait and not to go ahead of him, he repeats the process in reverse, both locked firmly again. The way to the Segregation Unit, or at least the route for staff is, to the unknowledgeable, complex and full of short cuts, routes that are known only to the initiated key holder that take you through corridors of administrators and secretaries. The nearer our destination we get, the more stark, functional and ascetic the decoration becomes. The mass

produced prints disappear and wallpaper is replaced with painted plaster walls, carpets with linoleum, all in neutral non stimulating colours. The corridors get longer, intersecting doors are replaced by security gates, and you have entered a prisoner access area.

As you follow your escort through more corridors, across numerous enclosed courtyards and covered walkways you are venturing deeper into the heart of the prison. Reaching an inconspicuous door in an otherwise plain wall you notice you have arrived at your destination for the small hand painted sign next to the door announces, 'Segregation Unit'. Whatever your expectations and preconceptions, the reality is undoubtedly going to shatter these impressions. The overriding feeling that meets you when you enter The Segregation Unit is one of peace and tranquillity, but this is contextualised by the regime of control. There is muted conversation from the staff as they go about their routine business with well practiced, quiet, efficiency. There is the occasional shout or bang from a prisoner as they endeavour to attract the attention of the staff.

However, the overriding sensation to assail you is the pervasive aroma of urine and unwashed bodies, despite the best efforts of the Unit cleaners. Despite this air of calm and efficiency, the undercurrent of expectant tension and suspicion is hard to disguise. The staff are obviously suspicious of my presence as visitors are rare, non-prison staff visitors even rarer. The tension of expectation is almost tangible as staff stand in small groups in places of obvious strategic importance, as though waiting for something to happen. And the prisoners are nowhere to be seen, safely confined behind their cell doors.

And so it is that the Segregation Unit meets and greets an academic researcher, the Segregation Unit staff are polite, professional, helpful, but tense, suspicious and cautious.

Social Order which, in this study, is the penal social order, is fundamentally underpinned by the need for good order and discipline and

is stronger than any individual, or number of people which comprise it (Goffman, 1961). On the wings, the accommodation blocks of the general population of the prison, this is maintained by (what could logically be seen as ridiculous and dangerously low levels of) staff manpower, in some cases where the wing based staff are outnumbered by the prisoners, 25:1. Yet good order and discipline are still maintained, though it has been argued, particularly by some of the prisoners in this study, that this is more at the goodwill of the prisoners rather than any major strategies utilised by the staff. Within the Segregation Units, good order and discipline is not maintained by any acts of beneficence on the part of the prisoners (as it is invariably acts of malevolence against the organisation, its staff or charges that are the reasons why they have been sent to the Segregation Unit). Rather it gives the appearance that the controlled and controlling regime and environment maintains and enforces social order.

These somewhat negative and disparaging views of segregation offered so far are done so that, by placing these issues into the public domain, into the open, we can now decide for ourselves what they are: myths, legends, rumours, or truths, and by doing so attempt to rid ourselves of any prejudices and misconceptions about such places. By accepting and perpetuating (through tolerance) such negative views as urban myths, we should recognise that there is always an element of truth present, a mixture of fact and fiction. By addressing them we can now decide whether to believe them or not, disregard them, and in doing so we can gain an impression, through the voices of the prisoners, of what such Units are really like.

Access to prison segregation units (for anyone other than official prison staff, on anything other than official prison or segregation unit business) is not something that the majority of people are likely to ever have. Even those who have regular, albeit peripheral, contact with the prison service (as is the case with myself, whose links are, currently, purely academic) cannot easily gain access. As an academic wishing to access this environment and its unique and at times frightening population, the actual

process of gaining clearance and access was convoluted, though, ultimately fruitful. Access to the sample group was driven by my desire to carry out and complete this research and was the product of persistence. Through this I gained the trust of the staff and gained access to the Segregation Unit and the prisoner population, but it was also, I believe, due to the appropriate demonstration of my personal experiences in the prison environments.

Segregation Units have, within prison circles as well as to wider society, built a wall of mystery around themselves which is heightened by tales that occasionally leak out (sometimes true, frequently not, the product of prison mythology and legend) regarding the 'hard men', 'the problem prisoners', 'the ultra-violent' and 'the self destructive' that inhabit such units. Images of Victorian punishment blocks abound with tough, brutal, strict, militaristic regimes. Units such as these are, anecdotally, staffed by Prison Officers who have a military background and who are renowned for not suffering fools and ruling with a rod of iron: the beatings, the fights. However, how much of this is fact or fiction, truth or mythology, is debatable and this thesis endeavours to address this and shed some light on it from the stance of The Segregation Unit recipient.

This negative imagery is damaging to the prison service in general and the segregation units (and their staff) in particular. It is assumed, again as a consequence of the media's monovocal reporting, that this is how segregation units are. However, there is also the assumption that there is a flow, converse to this negative imagery, and is the exploration of this that is the purpose of this research. This research will address, and is offering a sophisticated, polyvocal, way of understanding segregation, as opposed to the media's crude, monovocal reporting.

The authenticity of the prisoners voices have been corrupted into the media voice. The media, while serving its social functions of reporting 'the truth' have silenced some voices particularly the voice of the non victim. The voices they report and let us listen to are, invariably, the ones that

describe and define themselves as victims of the system and they do not let us hear (report) the non-victim voices, the voices of the prisoners that do not deem themselves to be victims. It is for this reason that this study set out to explore and celebrate the polyvocalness of the prisoners. While the media has silenced some prisoner voices, this study desired to hear all their voices equally and impartially. This fact alone justifies why such an environment and its personnel should be engaged as the source for scholarly exploration. In an attempt to redress some of the perceived imbalance between perception and reality through offering an exploration of segregation with data acquired directly from the prisoner's perspective.

Research Aims and Issues

The aim of this research was to develop a substantive theory of how prisoners gave meaning to their segregated environment experience.

~ This was achieved through utilising a Constructivist Grounded Theory to gather and conceptualise resultant data;

~ Data was gathered from different theoretically sampled and relevant sources;

~ The resultant substantive theory reflected the voice of the participants in its explanatory power and, as a consequence, was fit for the purpose of producing an alternative and unique perspective of segregation. This offered a sophisticated means of understanding segregation, alternative to other more crude, understandings.

Trials and Tribulations of Prison Research

When planning this study, the first, and probably most problematic, issue to overcome was the difficult topic of access to the research site. It was

expected that I would be met with a degree of suspicion and unease from the cautious representative groups of Her Majesty's Prison Service, especially at the early stages of the negotiations to seek and gain access to the Segregation Unit and its prisoners. Yet despite this being a protracted and convoluted process requiring the approval, and confirmation, of my credentials from numerous gatekeepers, it was eventually fruitful and access (always conditional of course) was granted.

The negotiations, whereby I effectively demonstrated that I had an understanding of the internal politics, processes, and security issues, and that I had 'a history' in, and around, such environments were beneficial to the process of gaining access, as well as my overall standing and status. By clarifying my experience and understanding of the factors that needed to be considered at all times, I acknowledged that I clearly understood that this can be (and is) a dangerous place. One where misconceptions of, or those created by, the 'inside outsider' can easily arise. I was showing that not only could I 'talk the talk' but that I could 'walk the walk'. Though walking the walk of the prisoners was, obviously, in a fairly limited sense. So in practical terms, I was walking with officialdom, the Governors and staff, and talking with the prisoners, the sample group. This said though, access to the research site was (with a few notable and valid exceptions) always permitted and fairly unproblematic. I believe that this was due to the fact that I had demonstrated, and continued to demonstrate, that I 'can dance' (Gergen, 1988). As a consequence, the Governors, Officers and other gatekeepers, felt that I was less of a threat to the fabric of the security of the establishment and therefore they permitted the interviews. They felt assured that I was someone who did not have 'two left feet', or would 'tread on their toes' or the toes of their prisoners during the research dance. It is with this in mind that it could be suggested (and it was certainly felt to be the case by my Director of Studies) that the relative ease with which I gained access to these participants was made possible as a direct result of the utilisation of my prior experiences in these environments.

Acquiring official security clearance is essential before you can progress any further, and thankfully my 'local clearance' was up to date. I had at that time, reasons, other than this research, to enter the prison, so that particular access element to see participants was relatively easy. Partway through the interviewing phase, my local clearance expired and was, as in previous years, applied for through the usual methods and, not expecting any problems, I continued to proceed with the research. However, changes had occurred in the type and level of Security Clearance that was required for people who entered a High Secure Estate establishment on a (semi) regular basis. As a consequence all people (and this included prison staff) who had (or sought to have) prisoner contact (and that obviously included me) now had to go through a higher level of security clearance. I duly applied for this and completed the forms and submitted my application to be told that clearance was taking, at that time, about 10 – 12 months. However, in retrospect the positive side of this was that I was given the opportunity to concentrate on coding existing data and preparing further theoretical sampling as a consequence of the emergent categories and theoretical memo's, as well as commencing the preparation of chapters, though it was inconvenient nonetheless.

It may be stating the obvious but within such establishments, security and security adherence (as already stated) take precedence over everything else. It is imperative that you ensure your clearance is of the correct sort and up to date, remembering to keep an eye on any expiry dates so you can instigate its renewal in plenty of time. Also, if somebody, somewhere, within the prison had decided that I could not enter and carry out an interview, or collect some other form of data, then I would not get access, despite any amount of discussion, negotiation, waving of official letters or pleading. A decision, once made, is final and you invariably never get to know the reason as security is paramount and therefore such information (despite it concerning you) is on a strictly need-to-know basis.

Detailed explanation and discussion relating to the actual data collection process can be found in Chapter 4 (Research Methods), however for now,

I feel it prudent to expand on a couple of issues and incidents at this juncture to help illustrate some of the problems that I faced (and other researchers could be faced with) when working in such an environment as this. At this point, I was interviewing prisoners who had left the Segregation Unit within the previous 2 months and had returned to their respective wings. In agreement with all the gatekeepers, these interviews would take place in the Healthcare Centre as this was considered to be an appropriate 'neutral' environment, and one more conducive for the interviews. Following the posting and returning of the invitations to take part in the research the participant would then be 'booked' to be moved from their wing to the interview site, and thus would require escorting by the Prison Officers. Once they were brought down to the Healthcare Centre I would be informed and taken to the room we were doing the interview in. The prisoner would then be brought to the room and, after introductions, the interview would begin. I had requested from the outset that I have privacy with the prisoner and that there would be no Officers present during the interview. This took some negotiation with the Governors but it was agreed as long as I would accept the fact that they could, and would, cancel any interview (before or during) if they thought my safety and/or security would be compromised. I (obviously) agreed to this.

An illustration of this was the occasion when I had arrived at the prison to carry out an interview and, as I pulled into the car park, my mobile phone rang. It was 'Peter'¹ who said that once I had cleared security he would meet me (as he normally did) because he had something to tell me. Gate Security cleared me. I was met by my friend and, over a cup of coffee he told me that the Governor had cancelled my interview that afternoon. Initially I felt somewhat aggrieved, until he explained that the prisoner that I was due to interview had been noted to have been acting suspiciously for a number of days and (following a tip off) they had searched his cell and found numerous lengths of electrical cable. It turned out that he was going

¹ Peter is the pseudonym which, hereafter, will be used to denote (and keep anonymous) a colleague and friend who acted as point of contact within the research setting.

to take me hostage. This, it transpired when the staff had quizzed him further, was for no personal reason, for I had never met him. He just had an axe to grind with the prison system.

One thing that is essential for the researcher working with unusual research populations, such as this one, is to ensure that during preparation, researcher personal safety has been attended to by all parties. Thankfully in this case, this was an issue that was out of my hands and the Prison Service dealt with this *before* it became an issue. Other examples of the problems of researching such 'odd' populations, such as this will be addressed further in this work.

Interestingly, a couple of months later I interviewed a prisoner who informed me that taking visitors and staff hostages was (to most of the 'hard core' prisoners) a futile exercise as they were not valuable enough.

"... I wouldn't take staff [hostage] they are worth fuck all ... I would take the inmates cos they're worth more ... you are here to protect them ..." (P6).

The prison has a Duty of Care to ensure the safety of the prisoners, therefore they, unfortunately, become valuable hostage currency. A few months after that, following another interesting interview, I was informed by 'Peter', as he was taking me back to the gate, that the prisoner I had just interviewed was the one who (earlier) was going to take me hostage. His grievance with the prison had been resolved so he no longer had any reason to take hostages; just proving that it was nothing personal.

One final point of illustration is based on the fact that the importance of personal safety is stressed continually to any and every, person having contact with a prisoner whether or not there is an Officer present in the room. Every room within the prison has a personal attack alarm situated on the wall, and policy dictates that personnel place themselves within arm's length of this, should there be a need to use it to call for staff assistance urgently, and that they should place themselves nearer to the

door that the prisoner. On one occasion I was shown into a room to wait for my interviewee, the Officer who escorted me suggested that I should sit in a certain chair as this would allow for a more comfortable, conducive and friendly approach to the interview. This I did, set up my recording equipment and the prisoner was shown in. Halfway through (a very successful) interview, we (he) were discussing how the prison system had changed and how lax (in his opinion) the system was becoming. At this point he asked, by way of an example, where the 'bull alarm' was. I was about to say "here by my arm" when I realised it was not. The Officer had put me (obviously unwittingly) at the furthest point away from the alarm thus allowing the prisoner to sit next to it. He pointed out that the 'screws' were only passing and looking through the door window every 25 minutes and he could have easily killed me and 'stuffed me under the table' if he had wanted to (and would claim that I had gone to the toilet or finished the interview and left the room). I had no doubt in his ability to carry this out if he had wanted to; the fact that he had survived (relatively unscathed) 15 years of an Indefinite Life Sentence was, I feel, testimony to this fact.

Privacy assured, we were nonetheless, under surveillance as prison staff walked past the door on regular occasions and made a point of looking through the window, which also served, I thought, to let the prisoner know they were keeping an eye on events in the room. Other than that we were given the privacy we were promised, unless, as happened on a couple of occasions, we overran our time and staff had to interrupt us so that they could take the prisoner back to the wing, but on those occasions they were very polite and apologetic.

Following Chapters

This thesis is divided into eight Chapters, excluding References and Appendices, and is designed to demonstrate and explain the progress of this research progress from its initial conception through the

methodological and research process stages to the construction and unfolding of the ultimate substantive theory.

Chapter 2: (Segregation: the Back Story). This chapter functions, in grounded theory terms, to allow me to scrutinise the literature and by adding conceptual density to the substantive theory, as well as increased conceptual specificity (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), I illustrate the narrative behind the substantive theory; the back story, and create an overall richer understanding of psychosocial processes of segregation. The literature in this section presents a wider picture of segregation, than is presented within the findings of this thesis and allows the reader to appreciate the conceptually and contextually relevant 'back story'. Other more theoretically and conceptually appropriate literature, are woven into the Findings Chapters to help explicate the concepts in the context of the findings of this research. This 'back story', however, through the utilisation, exploration, and critiquing, of existing relevant literature, enhances sensitivity (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) as well as serving to test the findings. Other, more contextually and conceptually relevant, literature is utilised within the explication of my substantive theory. These show where, and how, others' ideas illuminate my theoretical categories and findings and how these extend, transcend or challenge ideas in the academic field (Charmaz, 2006). Equally, these were used to highlight where the literature is incorrect, simplistic or only partially explains a phenomenon (ibid; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Since discovery is the purpose (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) of this grounded theory research, I did not have prior knowledge of all the categories relevant to the substantive theory. Though once I was satisfied that the substantive theoretical framework held up to scrutiny (ibid) I returned to the contemporary literature to create the 'back story'. This is a discourse derived from the wider literature that is relevant, and pertaining, to this thesis and generated through the analytical and interpretation stages.

Chapter 3: (Methodological and Philosophical Issues): This chapter revisits the Aim of this research, that being to develop a substantive theory of how

the participants gave meaning to their segregated environment experience. The Objectives are then explored, detailing the nuances of how they were achieved. A number of concepts and issues that are central to the methodological approach adopted for this study are introduced and explained. Namely, and specifically, constructivist grounded theory is explored and clarity offered to the understanding of its component elements, as well as offering a rationale for its use as a methodological approach in this research. The chapter goes on to detail the sources of data, and how the generation and collection of these were achieved using both purposive and theoretical sampling. It discusses how inductive and abductive logic played a role in analysis and construction of the substantive theory as it evolved from study of the phenomena. The chapter explicates how the resultant substantive theory demonstrates an alternative and unique perspective of segregation, a more sophisticated means of understanding segregation, alternative to other, more crude, understandings. Finally I position myself within this research and show how this positioning is derived from, as well as being an inherent part of, not only the research process in its entirety, but the dynamic nature and use of constructivist grounded theory, and how theoretical sensitivity was beneficial prior to this research.

Chapter 4: (Research Methods): This chapter discusses and explains the process undertaken, and a number of practical and personal issues, relating to, carrying out this study. It discusses the setting, data sources, the sample, and the data collection, its analysis, and other relevant and associated issues. How this unique research setting emerged, as a consequence of problematic issues of access, is also discussed. Participants were selected through purposive sampling whilst theoretical sampling occurred throughout concomitant initial analysis thus sampling was sequential. Eligibility criteria for this sample also discussed and this is followed by detailed explanation of the problems faced when recruiting (prisoner) participants for this study, and the strategy(ies) adopted, and the final sample size rationalised. As this sample site and the participants in this study are rare and unique, any access to these participants is

restricted and strictly controlled, therefore a simple and brief introduction to the sample is offered as, for security reasons, the maintenance of confidentiality is essential. Primary data was generated from semi-structured interviews with six participants. Secondary (theoretically sampled) data was collected in the form of (published) first-hand narrative accounts that directly describe the experience of prison segregation. Discussion relating to the technical and software aspects of data gathering and management is offered. This is followed by details of data management, and how the data was analysed through the process of examining, coding, categorising and then interpretation of the data. This chapter demonstrates the influence of abductive inferential reasoning on theory building, and the construction and conceptualisation of the substantive theory. It shows how abduction helps social researchers make new discoveries and how, through iteration, the category labels (axial codes, categories, sub core categories and core category) and constituent elements and overall substantive theory structure, frequently changed and developed throughout the process of building the theory, through consideration of all possible theoretical explanations of the data. Also discussed are issues surrounding theory evaluation, 'fit', 'relevance', 'understanding/workability' and 'modifiability' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Chenitz & Swanson, 1986; Glaser, 1992, 2001, 2002; Cutcliffe, 2005) in relation to this study. In closing, ethical and issues of informed consent, pertaining to a sample of vulnerable people, are discussed.

Chapter 5: (Findings I: Core Category): This chapter focuses upon explicating the formation and conceptual development and understanding of the Core Category '*Reframing Contextual Power*'. It shows how the categories, axial codes, sub core categories, through the processes of data synthesis, combined to form the core category. It became evident that the major interlinking concept throughout this study was Power and its application, specifically how the participants reframed contextual power. This is discussed in terms of how it was actualised and defined by the participants; how they achieved the one thing they desired and strived for.

This, their main concern while in the segregated environment, is the creation of a space to help them to survive. In this study, I describe three actions of power which were seen as being integral to the participants achieving their goal of creating a space necessary for achieving survival. This chapter shows how these were derived from the interpretation of the participant's descriptions of their experiences in segregation by integrating theory with the data.

Chapter 6: (Findings II: Sub Core Categories, Axial Codes and Categories): Having addressed the core category, this chapter now presents the sub core categories, the axial codes and the categories which offer the detailed description, and lower level conceptualisation, that directed me to the core category. In this section 'soundbites', taken from the participant's interview transcripts, are used to illustrate the appropriate and theoretical usage of data and thus add personal meaning to this exploration and explication.

Chapter 7: (Discussion): This chapter explicates theoretical aspects of power from a number of theorists and applies it to the substantive theory and the participants reframing contextual power in order to achieve survival within the segregated environment. It also offers discussion relating three major (non grounded theory derived but comparative) themes from this study ('Definition of Power'; 'Enactment of Power' and 'Resistance to Power') and offered a comparison of the similarities and difference of each theorist to this 'definition', for each of these themes as derived from my findings. Through this analysis of theoretical approaches to power this chapter shows how no one theory, from the philosophical, sociological and academic explorations of power utilised can sufficiently help to explore or explain power within this current context.

It proposes that an integrated approach to viewing and understanding power in this context and environment is required. Drawing from a number of these theorists' explication and illustration will be made so that the

reader can gain a more sophisticated understanding of how the prisoners reframe contextual power.

Chapter 8: (Conclusions): The findings of this study generate pertinent issues relevant to the segregation unit. They provide a mechanism by which to understand the issues of power and survival within the context of segregation. This final chapter offers a summary of the salient points of this study, and thus demonstrates the development of the substantive theory of reframing contextual power. This reflects upon the thesis in its entirety and reiterates the key themes. It then outlines the uniqueness of this thesis and its importance and contribution to the extant body of knowledge in this field. It discusses some of the limiting factors and limitations of the research as well as making suggestions for further research, education and practice development, as arising from this study. It leaves with a salient message relating to the (potential) future of segregation and the solitary confinement of prisoners.

Chapter 2

Segregation: The Back Story

“Knowledge is of two kinds. We know a subject ourselves or we know where we can find information about it”.

(Samuel Johnson, 1709 - 1784)

Introduction

This literature review will focus on definitions of segregation: what it is, who the individuals are that are part of this environment, the regime, and how it affects and impacts upon these individuals; and power and how this is imposed on individuals. This chapter functions to scrutinise the contemporary and relevant literature. By adding conceptual density and increased conceptual specificity (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to the narrative behind the substantive theory, the back story is created to allow for a richer understanding of the psychosocial processes of segregation. So through this literature review, as a source of comparison, a conceptually and contextually relevant back story is created. This was developed both alongside, and after, the substantive theory so that the theory was perpetually being tested against the literature, but the back story as presented here is more about context setting for the substantive theory. Through engaging in a comparison of other evidence and ideas with the substantive theory, this story will show where and how others' ideas illuminate these theoretical categories and findings, and also how these extend, transcend, or challenge ideas in the academic field (Charmaz, 2006). Equally, these theoretical categories can be used to highlight where the literature is incorrect, simplistic or only partially explains a phenomenon (ibid; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Since discovery is the purpose, (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) of such grounded theory research, prior knowledge of the categories relevant to the substantive theory was not possible, therefore, once the substantive theoretical framework satisfactorily held up to scrutiny (ibid) the contemporary literature was approached to create the back story of the substantive theory, a discourse

derived from the wider literature relevant and pertaining to this thesis and generated through the analytical and interpretation stages.

Segregation

Shalev (2008) talks at length about the (global) legal and regulatory framework pertaining to solitary confinement (segregation). In this, she demonstrates how the operation of prisons and the treatment of those held in them, are regulated by national laws, standards and directives, which must be compatible with both international and regional human rights standards (ibid).

Treaties such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (1976) and the UN Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) lay out the right that prisoners should be treated in a manner respectful of their human dignity, and also prohibit against all forms of torture, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 10 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (United Nations, 1948) and the ICCPR (1976) state that, “No one shall be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment” (UN, 1948, art 10; ICCPR, 1976, art 7, cited in Shalev, 2008, p4). This includes “... the holding of a detained or imprisoned person in conditions which deprive him, temporarily or permanently, of the use of any of his natural senses, such as sight or hearing, or of his awareness of place and the passing of time ...” (cited in ibid). This applies to some uses of extreme segregation (solitary confinement), where the prisoner is placed in dark, windowless or soundproofed cells. In such cases, this may amount to inhuman or degrading treatment and sometimes even to torture (ibid). Article 10 of the ICCPR announces that “All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person ...” (cited in ibid). Solitary confinement

deprives the individual from human contact and social interaction, and therefore, clearly runs contrary to this principle. Together, articles 7 and 10 of the ICCPR set out comprehensive protection of prisoners (and other detainees) from any form of ill-treatment (ibid).

The United Nations Human Rights Committee (1992) stipulated that: “Article 10(1) imposes on state parties a positive obligation ... thus, not only may persons deprived of their liberty not be subjected to treatment that is contrary to Article 7... but neither may they be subjected to any hardship or constraint other than that resulting from the deprivation of liberty [...] Persons deprived of their liberty enjoy all the rights set forth, subject to the restrictions that are unavoidable in a closed environment (Human Rights Watch, 2008) [...] this rule must be applied without distinction of any kind ...” (United Nations Human Rights Committee, 1992, para3).

The UN Convention Against Torture states that: “For the purpose of [...] the term ‘torture’ means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person [...] ...” (cited in, Shalev, 2008, p5). It is easy to see how the notion(s) of physical and/or mental suffering, and consequentially, survival, resonate with this thesis.

The European Convention on Human Rights reiterates the previous point stating that inhuman treatment “covers [...] treatment as deliberately causes severe suffering, mental or physical, which, in the particular situation, is unjustifiable” (art 3, cited in, Shalev, 2008, p6). Therefore it can be seen how this would include the use of solitary confinement (segregation).

These global directives regarding the use (or abuse) of segregation (solitary confinement) serve to overarch the ‘local’ (UK) application of the use of segregation. There are two main approaches to managing prisoners who require being held in isolation or in small units separate from the rest of the prison population. These are Prison Rule 45 and Prison Rule 46 and the Prison Service of England and Wales uses both of these (Coyle,

2005). Rule 45 covers the use of cellular confinement, this being the “removal to the punishment unit of the prison and placed in a cell with no facilities, though access to a radio or reading material” (Coyle, 2005, p148) may be permitted. Whereas Rule 46 covers the existence and usage of ‘close supervision centres’ such as the one at Woodhill prison (Coyle, 2005).

The use of segregation is at the behest of the Governor (under Rule 45) for up to three days, then up to a month, with this month being renewable and recurring (Coid, Petruckevitch, Bebbington, et al, 2003a; Coyle, 2005). These, and the use of special (strip) cells, are used for the temporary confinement of a violent prisoner (to be authorised by the Governor of his immediate representative) or to prevent self injury, injury to others, damaging property or causing a disturbance (Coid, Petruckevitch, Bebbington, et al, 2003b). This timeframe, along with the criteria laid out in Rule 45.1, that are “... desirable, for the maintenance of good order of discipline, or in his own interests ...” (Coyle, 2005, p153) show that the segregation unit as a place of short term punishment, of long term isolation, or of asylum. This is seen as a short term solution to urgent problems and that the prisoner will be returned to normal prison routine. Martel (2006) discusses how prisoners are generally confined to their cells for 23 hours a day, and as such, segregation is a prison practice used to remove a prisoner from the general population.

Prison Rule 46 applies when, after a period of being held under Rule 45 conditions, it is decided that a prisoner cannot safely be returned to normal conditions (Coyle, 2005). He may then be held under Rule 46 conditions and the Secretary of State may “direct the prisoner’s removal from association accordingly and his placement in a close supervision centre of a prison” (Coyle, 2005, p154).

It is with the former of these two approaches that this thesis is focused upon, the cellular confinement in the segregation unit under Prison Rule 45.

Search Strategy

To undertake an (extensive) review of literature before “the emergence of a core category, violates the basic premise of grounded theory” (Glaser & Holton, 2004, para46). This suggests that researchers should adopt a naïve stance during data collection and analysis. Delaying the literature review avoids the imposition of preconceived theoretical assumptions and ideas. Glaser & Strauss (1967), Strauss & Corbin (1990), and Charmaz (1995b) suggest delaying the literature review as this is an integral methodological issue inherent within the grounded theory process. So it was with this in mind that the literature for this back story was searched and reviewed at the latter stages of the research process, which also allowed for appropriate methodological and conceptual flow.

This literature search utilised an initial inclusion criteria that pertained to prison segregation and reflected the key terms in the research aims and objectives (the ‘question’). Thus, the initial terms searched were ‘segregation’, ‘prison(s)’, ‘prisoner(s)’. They were subjected to a range of relevant and appropriate electronic, academic, databases which were identified for their relevance to the social sciences, criminology, and penology, and searched through the Ovid and EBSCO facilities via the University of Teesside. The databases explored were ‘ASSIA’; ‘BHI’ (British Humanities Index); ‘Scopus’; ‘CINAHL’; ‘Zetoc’; ‘Business Source Index’ and ‘Web of Knowledge’. The range of journals searched by these databases included, amongst others, texts such as: ‘Prison Service Journal’; ‘Journal of Criminal Justice’; ‘Journal of Forensic Nursing’; ‘Race and Culture’; ‘Criminology’; ‘Victims and Offenders’; ‘British Journal of Criminology’ and ‘British Journal of Social Psychology’. From this initial search, 1,095 articles were identified as relevant, according to the databases search facility.

However, having scrutinised the titles and abstracts it was immediately evident that these articles consisted of a diverse selection. Whilst there

were relevant articles highlighted from this, initial, searching, the bulk of the material found was pertaining to racial, educational, sub cultural, religious, gang affiliation, traffic, colour and other forms of segregation in a range of social contexts. There were also numerous references to chemical segregation as well as the segregation (and separation) of genes and chromosomes in molecular and genetic medicine and science. The articles utilised for the following back story came from this round of searching as nothing additional was identified from the following second round of searching, which used the simple synonyms as shown in the table below (Table 2:1)

Table 2:1 - Search Term Expansion Using Simple Synonyms

<u>Search Term</u>	<u>Synonym(s)</u>
Segregation	Confinement Solitary confinement
Prison(s)	Jail Jails
Prisoner(s)	Inmate Inmates

At this point the search term ‘experiences’ was also added to the range of search terms in an attempt to widen and increase the options. However, the search only resulting in 19 identified articles, all of which had been highlighted in the previous round of searching.

Consequentially this search strategy demonstrated that, (as detailed later in this chapter) there appears to be very little in the academic literature pertaining to the practice or experience of ‘prison segregation’ as we in the UK prison system understand the term and which was directly relevant to this thesis.

As the literature that (ultimately) formed the second group of documents within this chapter (the ‘insider perspective’ - the prisoner network) were drawn from none academic literature sources they were not identified as a consequence of the above search strategy. These documents/articles were ascertained and acquired using the same search strategy, and at the same

time, as the secondary data sources. This is detailed in the relevant discussion on secondary data in the section on Data Sources in Chapter 4.

The extant literature on (prison) segregation as a concept, environment, experience and punitive system appears to be divided into three distinct groups: (a) the 'outsider perspective' - research papers; (b) the 'insider perspective' - the prisoner network, and; (c) the 'official perspective' - official documents.

Segregation ('outsider perspective' - research papers)

The papers utilised to explore this particular section of the back story cover a range of nationalities, Canadian, American as well as British. Whilst I was not using the segregation systems (or similar environments, ie: Close Supervision or Supermax Systems) or experiences from other countries, (as described and explicated in the subsequent work of Toch, 1992; Zinger, Wichmann & Andrew, 2001; Toch & Adams, 2002 and Shalev 2006) in a comparative sense, there are issues that are raised in these works that resonate with segregation in the UK, and this thesis. It is a reasonable argument to suggest that while the segregation systems have some similarities between, and across, these countries, they are not sufficient to draw robust and equal parallels (within the context of this thesis). However, there are sufficient commonalities between the contextual and situational issues discussed here and in the aforementioned work, to allow them to be utilised within this thesis. It is the shared contextual and situational issues that I have derived from these papers that have been utilised to help promote further understanding of the context of this thesis, not the environmental, nor organisational, structures or factors.

Clear distinctions are made in the literature (eg: Wichmann & Taylor, 2004; Martel, 2006) between the administrative, disciplinary (ibid) and protective (eg: Miller & Young, 1997) functions of segregation. The former allows the authorities to remove a prisoner from normal association for reasons of

institutional security, or reasons of personal safety. The latter, protective segregation, is used to provide certain prisoners protection and safety from other prisoners, and in certain literature is described either a 'voluntary' (Motiuk & Blanchette, 1997; Wichman & Nafekh, 2001; Wichmann & Taylor, 2004) subcategory of administrative segregation, or an 'involuntary' (Wichmann & Taylor, 2004) one, and as such is not deemed to be punitive. The middle, disciplinary segregation, being punitive and requiring segregation to function as the prison's prison, constitutes one of the formal sanctions for disciplinary offences. Segregation, in this sense, is then used to normalise behaviour and to promote compliance with the prison rules.

Research in prison segregation units is sparse and consequently there appears to be no theory concerning the interpersonal processes (from the prisoner's viewpoint) in this highly challenging area. An initial literature search offered a small selection of work on the wider topics of: segregation and solitary confinement, which included the purpose of segregation, its implementation, mental health before and during segregation and behaviour in segregation as well as a theoretical model of segregation occupancy. These ranged from discussion documents to empirical research. This paucity of appropriate research was echoed by Martel (2006) in her study of female prisoners in segregation.

Segregation units are shown (Coid, et al, 2003a) to be populated by younger prisoners' with histories of violent offending, career criminals, the environmentally disadvantaged, drug abusers and those scoring high on psychopathy checklists. It was reported (Miller & Young, 1997) that the levels of psychological distress were higher in these restrictive environments (Segregation Units) and that these environments may actually serve to increase the problems within prison rather than helping to alleviate them. They claimed (ibid) that if high levels of "psychological distress" (p92) caused a prisoner to act out in an aggressive or violent manner then all segregation prisoners would report the same levels of distress. However, they found that this was not the case as acting out is not the sole property of psychological distress/mental ill-health. As shown

in this current study, acting out behaviours are frequently those of survival, not necessarily mental illness or psychological distress.

Conversely Coid, et al (2003a) found that prisoners who were already suffering from a severe mental illness were no more likely to be placed in segregation, though they were more likely to be placed in strip cell conditions (Coid, et al, 2003b), though management of behavioural disorders is “substantially reliant on disciplinary segregation” (Coid, et al, 2003a, p316). Indeed, Coid, et al, (2003a) stated that prison staff perceived, and dealt with, any behavioural disorder (which is consequential of psychiatric morbidity) as a discipline problem rather than an illness related behaviour. They raised the concern that (disciplinary) segregation may be an indicator of an increased risk of future offending. Yet Rogers (1993) claims that solitary confinement does reduce the amount of victimisation and corruption of prisoners by career criminals and that in future all prisoners who are placed in ‘strip cell’ conditions should receive specialist psychiatric assessment (Coid, et al, 2003b).

There appears to be no evidence to suggest that prisoners in segregation are any more likely to suffer from severe mental illness or are at an increased risk of self harm (Coid, et al, 2003a). Yet there appears to be no acknowledgement of, or allowance for, the possibility that such acting out behaviours, could be anything other than an indicator of mental illness or severe mental or psychological distress rather than being performed for some other reason. Indeed, Zinger, Wichmann & Andrew, (2001) argue that much of the research into the effects of segregation on a prisoner’s mental health is inadequate. They report two conflicting viewpoints: one that segregation is a cruel and unusual punishment which is psychologically damaging, while the other perspective states that segregation has little, if any, effect on prisoners. So, if this is the case, as Miller (1994), Coid, et al (2003a, 2003b) and Zinger, et al, (2001) claim, then why do prisoners in the segregated environment act and behave in such extreme manners?. This thesis makes the case for such behaviour not being grounded in mental illness (in the majority of cases) but rather in

the need to ensure survival through the application of personal power strategies.

A range of criminal history characteristics have been proposed (Coid, et al, 2003a) as being representative of the prisoner in segregation. These are grounded in the fact that most of the prisoners are characterised by a violent offending profile with associated behavioural features, which, within the prison setting, presents as retaliatory violent victimisation, and they consider themselves to be career criminals who are deemed to have a diagnosed or diagnosable personality disorder, and are also emotionally unstable and impulsive. If the prisoner believes (Toch & Adams, 2002) that he has waged an honest and true campaign of resistance against the brutal assaults of staff then he will see his placement in segregation as just one more example of “arbitrary treatment” (p20) and react accordingly, thus perpetuating such behaviour.

It is Martel’s (2006) paper that bears the closest similarities to this current Doctoral study in that it explores prisoners in the segregated environment and how they, from Martel’s spatiotemporal perspective, endure and cope with their segregation experiences. Martel (2006) explores and discusses how “the regimented and predictable time-space continuum of the prisons ‘ordinary life’ flies into pieces in segregation” (ibid, p587). She describes two interrelated components linked to the notion of time that are crucial within prisons: operators of time (units to measure time), and structuration of time (the daily organisation of the prison routine and regime). In the prison (and thus segregation) context, such units quickly lose their usefulness and are replaced by prisoner derived operators of time, invariably sentence related: time served and time left to serve (ibid). Segregation especially, has the effect on the prisoner that results in the serious alteration of temporal structuration. The social, cultural and personal meanings of a space are understood through the mode of “spatialisation of a space” (the process of constructing significant spaces (ibid, p599). Perceptions and constructions of space are integral to the “real fabric of how people live their lives” (Shields, 1991, p7). Space may

be defined in many conceptual ways however it is always constructed materially and symbolically in an individual, collective and social manner (Laberge & Roy, 2001). As with this current thesis, Martel (2006) also looks at segregation, the place and the event and utilised the prisoners as providers of the data. However, this current Doctoral study looks at the phenomena of segregation at a different conceptual level, by using a polyvocal construction of the prisoner's experiences and meanings of segregation: the place, the event and the main concerns. This results in a more comprehensive and robust theory of understanding prisoners in segregation and their interactions with, and within, the inherent psychosocial processes they encounter.

The aims of Martel's (2006) Canada-wide research had two major (analytical) components, these being: "(1) the institutional practices of segregation, specifically their ideological bases and their persistence as a generally uncontested penal strategy, and (2) the experiential narratives of women segregated in a federal and/or a provincial prison since 1995" (Martel, 2006, p588). This particular research and paper, "draws from an earlier pilot project (Martel, 1999)" (Martel, 2006, p588) though no specific methodological approach, as such, has been mentioned or alluded to, though it is assumed that a mixed methodology was undertaken. It is also assumed that the precise methodology and research design is mentioned in the aforementioned previous (pilot) research paper.

However, Martel (2006) does state that her sample was drawn from women who had "served time in provincial and federal prisons" (ibid, p590), sometimes frequently, and that more than "three-quarters of them (79 per cent) had experienced segregation [...] for a total average period of 80 days" (ibid). An (obvious) inclusion criteria consisted of the women having spent time within the Segregation Unit as part of their sentences, and Martel (2006) reported that "an important number (though gave no indication as to what this 'important number' may be) of these women had been confined to segregation for a major portion of their sentence, either voluntarily or involuntarily" (ibid). However, in federal prisons, she reported

that “62 per cent of participants had served time [...] for a total average period of 30 months (sometimes in men’s prisons), but only one-third of them (38 per cent) had experienced segregation, for a total average period of 30 days” (ibid). That said, her final sample appeared to be “the 14 participants of my corpus” who have been “confined to segregation for long periods ranging from 100 days to several years (consecutively or accumulatively)” (ibid, p592). The demographics of the sample were described as being: “on average, 36 years of age, the majority are single (67 per cent), they have between zero and two children (71 per cent), and 40 per cent are of Native descent (Inuit, Métis, First Nations)” (ibid, p588).

The data Martel (2006) utilised to assist with the “analytical portrait” (p588) for this research was derived from “extensive documentary and nominal sources, as well as 45 interviews with women having experienced segregation in Canadian prisons from 1995 to 2003” (ibid, p587). The nominal sources were specifically defined as, “multiple empirical sources [from a range of] federal correctional legislation and regulations on provincial and territorial prisons; extant governmental statistical aggregations on the practice of segregation; the totality of the 123 official complaints submitted by segregated women to the Office of the Correctional Investigator (formal ombudsman for federal prisoners) since 1995; tours of seven provincial (including one private) prisons that house women, and two federal regional facilities for women; informal interviews with community agency workers involved with imprisoned women across Canada [and the] semi-structured interviews with 45 women who experienced prison segregation” (ibid, p588). Scrutiny of “their institutional files, [the] daily log books of the segregation units” [was also requested and access to these] was partially granted by the federal government, but denied by every provincial government for an alleged lack of personnel” (ibid, p588), an issue that resonates with my own experiences in this current study.

She states that her “discussion will be articulated around three analytical components” (ibid, p588), yet Martel (2006) does not specifically mention

the data analysis process she undertook to derive the themes she discussed in this paper, be it inductive, deductive or conceptual. However she does allude to some thematic emergence with the first of these analytical components (“the significant use of solitary confinement in Canadian prisons” (ibid, p588)) when she says that some “emerging trends related to the segregation of women” (ibid, p588) will also be discussed. While the “relevant theoretical components related to identity formation” (ibid, p588) are also discussed, in relation to “the identity construction and negotiation undergone by segregated women in relation to [...] time and space” (ibid, p589) there is no indication as to the thematic analysis strategy undertaken. The only definitive mention of any specific analysis strategy is when Martel (2006) states that “a documentary analysis of provincial rules and regulations” (ibid, p589) was undertaken.

In closing, I leave the reader with a poignant message from Martel (2006) one that is apposite and resonates with the findings of my own thesis, “Suddenly, segregation becomes immaterial, and its populations evaporate. In such supposed ‘empty’ informational spaces, however, one is able to see values, power structures, perceptions of the ‘other’, rituals and imaginings at play” (p590).

Segregation (‘insider perspective’ - the prisoner network)

Insider perspectives are published in the prisoner newsletters and prisoner and ex-prisoner associations’ publications, and are invariably personal accounts of prisoner’s experiences in a range of prison environments, (including segregation). These are interspersed by the heartfelt pleas of, and from, parents, family members and friends, whose child (or other relative or friend) have suffered, is currently ‘suffering’, or even died, in segregation. These are designed to highlight the conditions and plight of the prisoners in segregation. Some are raising public (and other prisoner’s) awareness, some are calling for political action (or even internal prisoner action, civil unrest) while others are simply telling their tale, though these do have the effect of glorifying, and myth creating. By

the nature of their content and their source of publication, these have a tendency to be, obviously, one sided with the prisoner as victim and the authority (and its representative figures) the oppressors. We are reminded (Coyle, 2007) that those who go to prison do so against their will, at the behest of the judicial system, so it is the removal of liberty that is punishment for serious breaches of the law. To that extent therefore, prisons are coercive institutions. However, people who are detained or imprisoned do not cease to be human beings, no matter how serious the crime they have been accused of, or convicted for. Prison staff should never lose sight of the fact that prisoners are human beings (Coyle, 2002). They must continually resist the temptation to regard them merely as a number, rather than as a whole person. Nor do prison staff have any right to inflict additional punishments on prisoners by treating them as lesser human beings who have forfeited the right to be respected because of what they have done, or are accused of doing. Ill treatment of prisoners is always legally wrong. In addition, such behaviour lessens the very humanity of the member of staff who acts in such a way (ibid). It with this in mind that this current Doctoral study is looking at the prisoner's behaviour as rational and coherent and human, given the circumstances they find themselves in.

The second group of literature takes a more personal and political stance on segregation. The documents come from a range of pressure groups, prisoner and ex-prisoner organisations and associations.

The rhetoric used to describe segregation and the events experienced there, is, as expected, damning and condemnatory. Shalev (2008) points out that with the exception of the death penalty, solitary confinement (*segregation SDK*) is the most "extreme penal practice legally imposed" (p2) while Day (2006) reports that, during his time in segregation, her son experienced "serious psychological torture" (p2). There are continual complaints and accusations against the regime and the staff who work in segregation. Anon (2002) claims that "screws in the block [had] free reign to contaminate prisoners food, limit the amount of liquid they are getting to

three cups of water a day, and threaten them repeatedly with physical violence” (p2) with Day (2006) illustrating such brutal treatment with “[he is] waded back through human excrement and urine” (p2).

Such verbal attacks against the regime and staff in segregation are not limited to prisoners and their families, those who have suffered at the hands of this regime. A former Prison Service Medical Officer (Johnson, quoted in Bowden, 2003) claimed that “perhaps most troubling [in segregation] there is the suggestion of an under culture of physical brutality which may run something as follows - if a prisoner smashes property, then the staff are expected to smash the prisoner” (p4). Examples of endemic brutality are regularly (indeed continually) reported: “A gang of eight to ten Prison Officers were routinely dragging prisoners from their cells and systematically beating them, largely as a form of group enjoyment” (Bowden, 2003, p4).

Such treatment and conditions supports the assertion that segregation profoundly affects the human mind (Shalev, 2006). It has been clearly shown (Grassian, 1983; Grassian & Friedman, 1986; Toch, 1992; Haney & Lynch, 1997; Kupers, 1999; Haney, 2003) that segregation may directly contribute to increased violence, thus turning some prisoners into the dangerous individuals that they are believed to be. A range of studies, as far back as the 1950’s, (eg: Sykes, 1958; McCleery, 1961; Colvin, 1992; Adams, 1994; Rhodes, 2004) highlight the damaging effects of segregation and show that it is ineffective as a method of prisoner control.

The narrative effect of these ‘prisoner network’ documents serve to create, or continue to perpetuate, a mythology around segregation. Not just the place, the segregated environment, but also the power and (negative) effect and punitive imagery that just the name carries with it. Within this is the perception portrayed of the regime, the relationships, the truth and the falsehoods, as well as the legendary, all of which appears to have been overlooked in terms of research which penetrates the ‘taken for granted’. It is also apparent that there is a dynamic that occurs within the segregated

environment that also requires further exploration and these, therefore, are strands within this current research. This research also deals in depth with an aspect of segregation overlooked in the literature, that being the dynamics of the relationship and behaviour of segregation prisoners and their segmates, rather than just, as is offered in the literature, a description of their behaviour.

Finding such documents as cited here, as well as a range of others not required, was a relatively easy process, however, this was not the case with accessing the official documents.

Segregation ('official perspective' - official documents)

The legal, official documents that are published by Her Majesty's Prison Service (HMPS) form the prescriptive and proscriptive fixed rules that relate to all aspects of the prison service. They ensure that the prison service in general, and in this particular case, the segregated environment, functions effectively, safely and within clearly defined professional boundaries. However access to these was restricted a problem also noted by Martel (2006).

The official literature pertaining to segregation are drawn from Her Majesty's Prison Service and come in the form of official Prison Service Orders (PSO's) and Prison Service Instructions (PSI's) and reports and recommendations from Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons following inspections of establishments, though one major problem in reviewing these documents is gaining access to them. While all Her Majesty's Prison Service documents are available to the general public via their official website, they are invariably out of date, so acquiring the most current versions of these was difficult, actually impossible. The most up to date versions of the PSO's and PSI's and all updates and revisions, are available to Her Majesty's Prison Service staff via their intranet service Quantum, though this is not, obviously, available to the general public.

This difficulty in gaining access to contemporary official documents caused problems when attempting to find the relevant national documents and drivers behind the recent important changes in the terminology used. The Segregation Unit has now been renamed SACU - Separation and Care Unit. This has come about, reported anecdotally to this author, in an attempt to present the image of segregation as more humane and caring, and to reduce the negative imagery associated with segregation. This could also be seen as a possible response to the mythology surrounding the segregated environment, fuelled by the insider perspectives as detailed above.

As a formal and detailed set of Orders, Her Majesty's Prison Service PSO 1700's (HMPS, 2001) proscriptive and prescriptive function is reflected in the formal language it uses. This non-emotive, exact and precise language underpins the actions and interactions of the staff. On occasions the written language used is stripped of all potentially redundant terms, or ones that could lead to confusion, misinterpretation, or from loopholes being found, or even to the use of internal jargon, an example of this is taken from the PSO 1700 (HMPS, 2001) "[.....] continue to fit prisoners for cellular confinement". The use of the term 'fit' appears to be inappropriate, for how does one 'fit' prisoners? It would be appropriate to think that a prisoner would be 'declared fit' or 'deemed fit' or even 'found to be fit' for cellular confinement. Yet these instructions are written in a reductionist, jargonistic style.

As with all Her Majesty's Prison Service orders and instructions they are cross referenced to other PSO's/PSI's which further underpin the prison regime and its function and behaviours to further reduce the opportunities for rules to be misconstrued or even for any of Her Majesty's Prison Service staff to be in a position where litigation could be levelled at them. Ensuring all orders, procedures and instructions are airtight yet transparent appears as a common thread throughout, as all written policies and procedures are not only subject to audit and scrutiny they are deliberately written to be auditable.

The Principles of The Segregation Unit leave no room for misinterpretation (accidental or otherwise). Yet, despite clear orders that segregation will, treat all prisoners fairly and with dignity and help prisoners address negative aspects of their behaviour, whilst ensuring the safety of prisoners, reports of staff behaving in ways that totally disregard these basic tenets continue (see Bowden, 2003; Day, 2006). So, despite these immovable, formal, rigid rules it appears that staff utilise their own form of, sub-cultural, contextual adaptation of these.

Both the official documents, and the prisoner newsletters/press, serve to reflect, and are biased towards, the respective group's (prisoners and prison staff) position and role in segregation (and the wider prison settings). Whether they are seen as victim recipients, or professional deliverers of the system, they are two sides of the same coin living in symbiotic disharmony. The one set of documents pertaining to segregation that can claim to be impartial in its dealings, and reporting, of the establishments (including segregation) are the Announced (and just as frequently, Unannounced) Inspections by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP). The ensuing reports give an honest picture of the environment as seen by the Inspectors over a period of days.

An example of such reporting of conditions is taken from Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons, (1999) where the inspectors in one segregated environment were "at first shocked and then angry to discover appalling standards of cleanliness and hygiene and very little care being given to prisoners. Indeed prisoners were being intimidated. Staff appeared to be pursuing a punishment ethos [.....]" (p138). In contrast, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (2001) (in a different segregated environment) reported that "the whole atmosphere [.....] was far more relaxed with staff feeling much more in control" (p27) and that "prisoners [.....] stated that they were well treated by staff and had the necessary access to services [.....]" (p28).

The environment itself in Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (1999) was heavily criticised: "visited every cell and without exception, they were filthy with [.....] smell of urine" (p139), or "debris swept into corners" (ibid), "walls had [.....] organic matter splattered over them" (ibid), "[.....] live cockroaches in two cells" (ibid), "cells were gloomy, stuffy and hot" (p140). Yet, conversely, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (2001) reported that the "segregation unit has been redecorated" (p27). Such criticisms, in Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (1999) range across 31, extensively reported, points including environment, regime and treatment, but they do make the salient point that "physical conditions experienced by prisoners and staff were unacceptable" (p140). While, in contrast, the favourable report of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (2001) covered a mere seven points.

One interesting point worthy of note is that while the policies and procedures underpins everything the Prison Officer does, and to some extent thinks and believes, they do, as alluded to earlier, have their own set of micro rules that they can, and do, resort to as and when they feel it contextually and situationally appropriate. The contextual nature of the Officer's micro-rules, demonstrate the variation in the operation of the different segregated environments across the prison network. The condemnatory Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (1999) states that "[.....] received numerous accounts [.....] of physical brutality committed by staff on prisoners held in segregation" (p146) and that there "were no operational instructions to guide [.....] staff in the operation of the daily routine of the unit" (p147) and that "no written record was available of these various rules, which were passed down to staff when they started to work in the unit" (p145). This appears to be an apparent example of the prison service using a sub-cultural, narrative language and rule behaviour, underlying policy and procedure.

It is obvious that language and its use is important, as this is reflected in both the informal, narrative, tabloid, personal style used by the prisoners, their associates and supporters, in their press outlets, and the more

formal, professional style of Her Majesty's Prison Service Policies, Procedures, Orders and Instructions. Taken together they are immersed within the activities of both social groups, a range of activities that constitute the social language of that particular group, or, local lingo (Goffman, 1961).

This environment is characterised as, and renowned for, being a place of secrecy and discretionary power. The official documents dictate the need to balance the needs of security, control and discipline within prisons with decent, but austere conditions, active and demanding regimes, and a fair and just system for dealing with prisoner's problems and grievances (King, 2006a). Yet there remains concern about the segregation unit's regime, and about the process of rotating prisoners through them, in what officials define as the Continuous Assessment Scheme, but to staff and prisoners alike it is known as the merry-go-round (King, 2006b), or, the Magic Roundabout.

Chapter 3

Methodological and Philosophical Issues

“He who loves practice without theory is like the sailor who boards ship without a rudder or compass and never knows where he may cast”.

(Leonardo da Vinci)

Introduction

Qualitative methodology is said to be the most appropriate research strategy (Reid, 1987; Noaks & Wincup, 2004) when studying social processes of complex human systems (in this instance, the prison segregation unit and its role, function and position within the wider prison setting), its culture, organisation, and communities (Neuman & Wiegand, 2000; Bailey, 2007). This approach assists in gaining an understanding, of the dynamic processes, meanings, communication patterns, experiences, and individual and community constructions of reality (Daly, 1992).

The aim of this research was to develop a substantive theory of how prisoners gave meaning to their segregated environment experience.

The objectives of this study were:

~ The effective utilisation of constructivist grounded theory to gather and conceptualise resultant data. To achieve this first objective, this chapter offers an insight into constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). This explores and clarifies the component elements of, as well as offering a rationale for using, this methodological approach.

~ To gather data from numerous, relevant sources. This second objective was achieved through the effective use of a range of purposively and theoretically sampled data sources.

~ To utilise the voice of the participants and its explanatory power in the development of the resultant substantive theory. This offers a sophisticated means of understanding segregation, alternative to other more crude, understandings. This final objective was achieved through successful data analysis, synthesis and interpretation and the ultimate construction of the substantive theory.

This chapter discusses the methodological underpinnings of this study used in order to address the research question. It describes the progressive development of the methodological approach: constructivist grounded theory, and how this informed and assisted the research process, and the development of the substantive grounded theory. In this sense a substantive theory is one that evolves from a study of phenomena in one context or setting (Charmaz, 2006).

To ensure the research aims and objectives were met the dynamic nature, and use, of constructivist grounded theory was deemed to be preferable and desirable. In this sense the use of this methodology takes the conceptualisation of data, and generation of the substantive theory, beyond theoretical sensitivity (Glaser, 1978). Theoretical sensitivity is utilised in the conceptualisation of the data and allowing the substantive theory to emerge from the data. Mills, Bonner & Francis (2006) refer to this as “the researcher’s level of insight into the research area, how attuned they are to the nuances and complexity of the participants words and actions, their ability to reconstruct meaning from the data generated with the participant and a capacity to ‘separate the pertinent from what isn’t (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p44)’” (p4). In the case of this study, theoretical sensitivity refers to the background knowledge, experience, literature and intuition that I, as researcher, used to generate and compare categories whilst coding. This gave me the additional benefits of understanding the prisoners, their environment, and their lifestyles prior to engaging with them in this research. Whilst using a constructivist stance permitted a dynamic to theories.

I believe that my position in this research was central to the acquisition, understanding, development, and interpretation of the data and explanation of the ultimate theory, which is through a constructivist viewpoint. In seeking a methodology that would provide an ontological and epidemiological fit with this position I was led to the concept of constructivist grounded theory, as described by Charmaz (2006). A number of authors have identified grounded theory underpinned by a constructivist paradigm, for example: Strauss (1987), Strauss & Corbin (1990, 1994, 1998), Charmaz (1994, 1995a, 2000), McCann & Clark (2003a, 2003b), and Mills, Bonner & Francis (2006), and as a consequence of the uniqueness of this research and its rare population under scrutiny, constructivist grounded theory was deemed an appropriate methodology.

The present study required, and used, a methodology capable of exploring the psychosocial experiences, as described by this unique (prisoner) sample group, and thus developed a substantive constructivist grounded theory. Exploring the psychosocial experiences is compatible with person-in-environment research (Taylor, 1977; Epstein, 1988). This integrated approach has both explanatory and (re)constructive power, as well as the ability to embrace both participants and the reflexive researcher as co-constructors of the ultimate substantive theory. This power is related to the degree it arises out of the participants' narratives of their experiences, as well as to the depth and breadth of the theory as it has developed and its ability to explain a wide range of experiences in this rare and unique segregated environment.

As little is known of this phenomenon it was deemed appropriate for a grounded theory methodology to be utilised. The study was guided by the ideas and writings of Glaser, Strauss & Corbin, and Charmaz, though particularly the latter. Although Glaser's (1978, 1992, 2001, 2005) and Strauss & Corbin's (1990, 1994, 1998; Corbin & Strauss, 2008) approaches are considered to be the 'classic' and 'reformulated' approaches (respectively) to grounded theory methodology, it was the

constructivist approach as described by Charmaz (1995a, 1995b, 2006) that was used in this study.

From an interpretivist framework the techniques of a constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2006) are described by constructivists in that: "... we invent concepts, models and schemes to make sense of experience, and we continually test and modify these constructions in light of new experience. Furthermore, there is an inevitable historical and socio-cultural dimension to this construction. We do not construct our interpretations in isolation but against a backdrop of shared understandings, practices, language and so forth" (Schwandt, 2003, p305). Unlike the traditional grounded theory method of Glaser & Strauss (1967), constructivist grounded theory is not objectivist, in that it "recognises that the viewer creates the data and ensuing analysis through interaction with the viewed" (Charmaz, 2006, p131). Consequently the data does not provide a window on objective reality, but is a negotiated interpretation between the participants and the researcher about what experiences are meaningful (Charmaz, 2006).

Constructivist grounded theory uses the inductive, comparative, emergent, and open ended approach of Glaser & Strauss's classic version (Charmaz, 2009) but it also includes abductive logic. This illuminates the fact that grounded theorists study their observations and develop abstractions to test against new observations (Atkinson, Delamont & Coffey, 2003) and as such, abductive reasoning takes inductive inquiry further. When a grounded theorist encounters a 'surprising finding' while engaging in research, they, (a) consider all theoretical possibilities that could account for the finding, (b) return to the field and gather extra data to test these ideas further, and; (c) subsequently adopts the most plausible theoretical interpretation (Pierce, 1958; Rosenthal, 2004; Charmaz, 2006; Reichertz, 2007; Charmaz, 2009). Abductive reasoning arises from experience and leads to logical but creative inferences and then invokes testing of these inferences (Charmaz, 2009). It could be suggested that I was using an abductive approach without realising it, when I thought I had developed

Experiential Alertness (Kirby, 2007) (as discussed in Chapter 1) the utilisation of prior knowledge bases in the data sorting and analysis.

In the past I have experienced the prison setting in a variety of roles and capacities though have never had any direct employment by Her Majesty's Prison Service and currently have no affiliation with Her Majesty's Prison Service other than academic. Nor have I experienced it 'at the receiving end'. Through this contextual socialisation I am comfortable with the ways of secure and penal systems (Kirby, 2007). Therefore, I am acutely conscious of the social and (sub) cultural vagaries, needs and requirements of this environment and its population.

It is this personal, contextualised, history and background and its effective usage that helped me negotiate and arrange access to the research setting, and how to ethically involve participants in this study. This also gave me an acute awareness of the need to respect the prisoners, as well as maintain a clear awareness for their criminological and behavioural potential, at all times, and nurture a finely tuned sense of personal safety. I also had an acute awareness of the impact of my own personal values, prior knowledge, assumptions, and experiences, relating to a range of aspects: including the sample, the sample site, historical, organisational, cultural, sub-cultural, sociological, and prison mythological factors.

In the following sections, constructivism is dealt with in more detail, ending with constructivist grounded theory.

Constructivism

The constructivist paradigm encompasses two key constructivist theories. Firstly, Personal Construct Theory (Kelly, 1963) which emphasises individual reality (or interpretation) of the world. The second, Social Construct Theory (for example, Vygotsky, 1978; von Glasersfeld, 1995a), emphasises the influence of society, culture, and social environment on

reality. Personal construct theory argues that people construct the reality about their world individually and that is why there is no singular reality about phenomenon but rather it is multiple, existing in the minds of all individuals. Kelly (1955, cited in Dalton & Dunnnett, 1992) says that “Life, then, to our way of thinking, is characterised by its essential measurability in the dimension of time *and its capacity to represent other forms of reality* (original emphasis SDK) while still retaining its own form of reality” (p6). As a theory of knowledge and learning, constructivism (Larochelle & Bednarz, 1998) has its psychological base in the later work of Piaget (Fosnot, 1995). Unlike objectivism, which understands knowledge to be out there waiting to be discovered, a constructivist paradigm sees knowledge as an individual construct based on learning in a social and contextualised activity that takes place over time. The radical constructivism of von Glasersfeld (1995a) not only views knowledge as an individual construct, but also argues that such knowledge cannot be simply transmitted to another person, but must, in the process of transmission be reconstructed by the recipient (Sproston, 2005, p60). Constructivism then, refutes the existence of an objective reality and claims that realities are constructions of the mind (Al-Saggaf & Williamson, 2006). It is postulated that any one theory of reality cannot adequately and categorically explain the nature of any given phenomenon, since reality exists only in the mind of each individual and each individual’s perception of what is real, and this will differ from the perceptions of others. Therefore, “realities are social constructions of the mind and there exist as many such constructions as there are individuals (although clearly many constructions will be shared)” (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p43) and many possible interpretations all of which are potentially meaningful.

Constructivism, as discussed in terms of ontology, epistemology and methodology, is shown in Table 3:1:

Table 3:1 - Constructivism

Ontology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Reality is constructed by individuals or groups 'in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, social and experientially based, local and specific in time'. ~ What exists depends on what individuals perceive to exist ~ Social realities are inseparable from the researcher, not least because the researchers construct the worlds they research
Epistemology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ The researcher and research participants interact 'so that the 'findings' are literally created as the investigation proceeds' ~ Knowledge as is created through the interaction of the researcher and the researched ~ The researcher is inseparable from whatever can be known in the overall construction of a particular reality
Methodology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ~ Through interaction and continuous refinement of the researcher's and participant's individual constructions, the aim 'is to distil a consensus construction that is more informed and sophisticated than any of the predecessor construction'

(Based on Guba & Lincoln (1989); Lincoln (1992); Guba & Lincoln (1994); Norton (1999); Mills, Chapman, Bonner & Francis, (2007); Graham & Thomas (2008))

From a constructivist perspective, we are all influenced by our history and cultural context, which, in turn, shapes our view of the world, the forces of creation and the meaning of truth (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006). Often these underlying assumptions are unconscious and taken for granted. Knowledge and truth are, therefore, the results of perspective, neither an image nor reflection of external reality, but a function of cognitive processes. So if all meanings are co-created, then this infers that no one meaning is any more important than any other. It is recognised that through constructivism it can be argued that worthwhile interpretations of social life can still be constructed without claiming that our understanding is either complete or final.

Constructions are needed to aid adaptation to a world that is directly not knowable. They "are not part of some 'objective' world that exists apart from their constructors" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p143). Constructions are therefore not separate from those who make the constructions as people develop frameworks for making sense of phenomena. Such frameworks evolve as a consequence of bumping into (Hoffman, 2004) events, people, situations, contexts. People cannot be certain if their constructions

correspond to an independent reality, but they can know if their constructions work for them (von Glasersfeld, 1995a). As the knower interprets and constructs a reality based on his experiences and interactions with his environment then truth is not thought of in terms of a match to reality, rather (von Glasersfeld, 1995b) it should be seen in terms of viability.

Constructivist researchers are more interested in the co-construction of knowledge, in this study, the psychosocial phenomena of segregation, between researchers and researched. Therefore through the context of all the interviewer-interviewee situations, ontology and epistemology merge. The 'knower' is inseparable from whatever can be known within the overall construction of a particular reality (Murphy, 1997; Norton, 1999). In this sense, constructivists see social realities as inseparable from its researchers, not least because the researchers construct the worlds they research. Issues of validity and truth do not rely on methodology rather they rely on the interpersonal skill of the researcher in gaining the perspectives of the researched because the researcher is the research instrument (Murphy, 1997).

The research described here came about through the process of bumping into (Hoffman, 2004) a range of events, situations and people all within the prison context. As such, this bumping into (Hoffman, 2004) provided, and developed, the experience and contextual and conceptual continuity necessary for effective performance of this research. The emphasis on the positive, reflexive, use of experience influences and ensures a mutual understanding between researcher, participants and other associated, though non participative, individuals. While we should attempt to disentangle our perceptions and understanding from the phenomenon being studied, it is impossible to divorce ourselves entirely and dissociate ourselves from any phase of the research process.

The contextually exclusive knowledge and experiences I had acquired prior to the research interaction(s) were openly acknowledged, accepted,

and utilised, in the development of the research strategy, negotiating and gaining access, and then taken into the research process as an intrinsic, underpinning and influencing element. By being reflexive I was able to tailor the research along well informed lines (in an experienced and contextual understanding sense), and thus the subsequent data collection and analysis, the interaction, relationship and interview process, were contextually, meaningfully and mutually grounded. The constructivist stance, that knowledge is constructed, created, by the knower (Murphy, 1997) confirms the authenticity of the individual knower (Rolfe, 2000) in the context in which it is being used. Given that institutions such as this unique research site cannot be fully understood by introspection (Berger & Luckmann, 1967) or purely (merely) academic ventures, researchers must go out and learn about them first hand, in person, thus enhancing theoretical sensitivity.

So, in essence, constructivism asserts that we do not see the world or research phenomenon, rather we merely see the world or research phenomenon as it appears to us and where every event that exists can be reconstructed. Thus constructivism focuses on the way that persons and societies create (rather than discover) constructions of reality (Raskin, 2002). This is appropriate for the current research as this engages with a rare population in a unique research setting, and seeks to explore how the prisoners construct their segregated environment experiences.

Reflexivity

As reflexivity encourages theoretical sensitivity, it allows the researcher to work with the data and to conceptualise the emergent theory (Glaser, 1978, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Locke, 2001; Charmaz, 2006). Such reflexivity encourages researchers to 'stand back' during the research process, being aware of their impact and influences (personal and professional) on the actual collection, analysis and interpretations of the

data. Thereby nothing is added that may be co-influential, thus allowing for a truly emergent theory.

Reflexivity is generally described as being applicable to the data collection, analysis and interpretation phases (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) thereby mitigating against any unintentional and unwanted researcher influences. The separation of the researcher, and his history and experiences, in these setting is, from a reflexive stance, essential. However engaging and utilising this constructivist grounded theory approach allows, as already stated, the researcher to use these experiences and histories to their fullest potential. Not only, as is the case of reflexivity, during data management phases, but also in all the other (preceding and subsequent) phases of the research process. The appropriate and relevant use of previously acquired knowledge is both prudent and beneficial when gaining access to sample sites and participants which are rare and unique, such as this one. This can therefore only add to the development of a (constructed) grounded theory with a rare research population and an 'odd' research setting rather than detract from it.

Being contextually reflexive has given me a more in-depth understanding of the process and issues, experiences, and events, intrinsic to the lived experience of the sample. This allowed me to position myself in such a manner that I acted, not only as a mere conduit for the data collection and analysis, but also as an experienced and knowledgeable collaborator with the participants. Prior immersion into, and experience of, the types of settings, and the types of participant, allowed me to understand the nuances of the subject matter discussed during the interviews, and this allowed for more meaningful interviews which had (at least an acceptance of) a level of mutual understanding at their core.

By ensuring that the research is contextually influenced and grounded does not mean that both parties, within the meeting and ensuing interaction, stopped being part of a process of mutual influence. Rather, I was able to focus my acquired knowledge, as though through a contextual

lens, thus demonstrating my ability to act as a vehicle for the interaction to become a mutual learning environment. Being attuned and alert to one's experiences, and how these are influential in informing the research, allows the researcher to become immersed in, not stand back from, the data, its collection, analysis or interpretation. This supports and assists in the construction of the substantive theory.

Reflexivity involves the realisation that researchers are part of the social world that they study (Frank, 1997). This realisation is the result of an honest examination of the values and interests that may impinge upon research work (Porter, 1993). The ability to reflect on one's behaviour and motives requires time to reflect, and an environment of support, and reflective skill (Rovegno, 1992; Paterson & Groening, 1996). It is one of the central attributes to constructivism (Driscoll, 1994) and is characterised as "the ability to be aware of [the researcher's] own role in the knowledge construction process" (Duffy & Cunningham, 1996, p172). As a process, reflexivity is "continually reflecting upon our interpretations of both our experience and the phenomena being studied so as to move beyond the partiality of our previous understandings and our investment in particular research outcomes" (Finlay, 2003, p108). In Gadamerian terms, this involves a positive evaluation of the researcher's own experience in order to understand something of the fusion of horizons between subject and object (Gadamer, 1975).

Knowing that constructivism requires an acceptance and acknowledgement of the impact of the researcher (and all their knowledge and insights, positions and influences being brought to the study), has ensured that throughout this research project, whether that be in the planning, acting, observing or reflecting (McTaggart, 1997, p34) stages of the research, I remained reflexive. It allowed, and required, me to be conscious of, and openly consider, the impact and effects that I *have* had on the participants, as well as the research process, and that I *may* have had on both.

Responding to critiques of grounded theory, Corbin (1998) stated that experience was not to be used as data, rather “it is an analytic device used to stimulate reflection about the data at hand” (p122). Conversely through the use of constructivist reflexivity my experiences prior to (and to some extent throughout) this study were used in a constructive and theoretical manner as data. Experiences (not only as a researcher but also in various prior roles and guises) offered but one, among many, perspectives on the issue. Many researchers have extensive prior knowledge, and/or undertaken coursework and literature reviews of an area (and in my case, had extensive *lived* experience and knowledge), before beginning the research project. Prior knowledge of the substantive field is valuable rather than hindering (Clarke, 2005) for researchers do not need to invest “precious research time and energies to reinvent wheels” (p31). As none of this prior knowledge can be, or should be, erased from researcher’s conscious awareness it is argued that there is actually “something ludicrous about pretending to be a ‘theoretical virgin’” (ibid).

As reflexive researchers we are advised not only to consider our own position in relation to the quality of the data analysis, but to also examine our own prejudices and thought processes in order to see how they affect the interpretation of a particular situation. By doing so, we are celebrating the abilities and opportunities that *our lived* experience allows us, in relation to the phenomenon. This means, for example, knowing who the gatekeepers are, and how to approach them, and utilise their resources, or knowing, and using, the correct language so that people, organisational representatives as well as participants, trust the researcher, in relation to gaining access or gathering and analysing valuable contextually appropriate data.

To be open, and admit, and embrace, a prior knowledge base and experiences analogous to those of participants, serves to reduce any opportunities for possible ambiguity and thus increase clarity. Research should be presented in the first person and researchers should write themselves into their reports via reflexive accounts about the research

process and decisions made throughout it (Norton, 1999). Therefore, I was, and am, 'obliged' to acknowledge my involvement with, and my inseparability from, the research. Norton's (1999) timely message is wherever possible be adhered to throughout this thesis, and by doing so I strived to uphold the principles of constructivist grounded theory.

Glaser ... and Constructivist Grounded Theory

Contained within Denzin & Lincoln (2000) is a chapter by Charmaz (2000) who compared objectivist and constructivist methods of grounded theory, in this she stated that:

"I add ... another vision for future qualitative research: constructivist grounded theory. Constructivist grounded theory celebrates firsthand knowledge of empirical worlds, takes a middle ground between postmodernism and positivism, and offers accessible methods for taking qualitative research into the 21st Century. Constructivism assumes the relativism of multiple social realities, recognises the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed, and aims toward interpretive understanding of subjects' meanings" (p510, cited in Glaser, 2002, para7).

Glaser (2002) responded to this chapter in an attempt to "show that constructivist data, if it exists at all, is a very very small part of the data that grounded theory uses" (p1). A few of the points that Glaser (2002) addressed are raised here to assist further in the classic/constructivist grounded theory debate and explication of the chosen methodology for this Doctorial study.

Glaser sees "the constructivist orientation as one of active involvement in the research process; although Glaser characterises this in a disparaging fashion, using terms such as bias" (Bryant, 2003, para19). Though in his response to Charmaz (2000), he (Glaser, 2002) states that "constructivism is an effort to dignify the data and to avoid the work of confronting

researcher bias” (para11). With this he stressed that “bias is another variable and a social product. If the researcher is exerting bias, then this is a part of the research, in which bias is a vital variable to weave into the constant comparative analysis” (ibid), for it is this (the constant comparative process) that “reveals these biases” (ibid, para14). I have addressed the issue of researcher bias, and the influence and impact of the researcher upon the research process, from a constructivist perspective, in the previous section.

He continues his defence and explanation of classic grounded theory by stating (frequently) that Charmaz (2000) is “remodel[ling] grounded theory” (Glaser, 2002, para18) by using a “constructionist tack” (ibid). He feels that this (constructivist) approach neglects the “carefulness of the grounded theory methods” (ibid, para19) and that Charmaz (2000), in her remodelling of grounded theory also neglects “the fundamental properties of abstraction analysis” (Glaser, 2002, para19). He clarifies this by saying that “constructionism is used to legitimate forcing. It is like saying that if the researcher is going to be part of constructing the data, then he/she may as well construct it his way” (ibid, para20). He continues by stating that “she [Charmaz] uses constructivism to discount the participant's main concern (Glaser, 1998)” (Glaser, 2002, para21) for constructivism, he claims, studies “the professional problem in lieu of studying the main concern of the participants” (ibid, para43). Without this the research becomes “diluted” (ibid) and thus the “we lose the relevance to the research” (ibid). As such then, Glaser (2002) feels that this is a clear remodelling of a “vital property of grounded theory which provides the core category” (para43). It was when I came to document the prisoners (participants) main concern within this research and thesis that I became aware, as it became evident, that I was blending approaches, classical and constructivist. This also was evident when the core category (reframing contextual power) was conceptualised. This blending is further raised for discussion in the next chapter in relation to the use of ‘labels and terminology’.

Glaser (2002) in his refuting of Charmaz's (2000) claims that there are several "critical challenges to grounded theory" (p521), states that these critiques are (again) reflections of "descriptive capture and a qualitative data analysis (QDA) approach" (Glaser, 2002, para25) and therefore are misapplied critiques regarding grounded theory. He replies by reminding us that "grounded theory is a conceptual method, not a descriptive method" (ibid). Glaser says that all that Charmaz's (2000) critiques achieve is to remodel grounded theory into a QDA method, one which is offering a "description of the participant's story" (Glaser, 2002, para26).

Within Glaser's (2002) response he states (para27) that Charmaz (2000) claims that:

"a constructivist grounded theory assumes that people create and maintain meaningful worlds through dialectic processes of conferring meaning on their realities and acting within them ... By adopting a constructivist grounded theory approach, the researcher can move grounded theory methods further into the realm of interpretation social science ... [with] emphasis on meaning, without assuming the existence of a unidimensional external reality. A constructivist grounded theory recognises the interactive nature of both data collection and analysis, resolves recent criticisms of the method, and reconciles positivist assumptions and postmodernist critiques. Moreover, a constructivist grounded theory fosters the development of qualitative traditions through study of experience from the standpoint of those who live it" (Charmaz, 2000, p521, cited in Glaser, 2002, para27).

Glaser states that this is a misapplication of, and "a mighty order for constructivist grounded theory" (Glaser, 2002, para28). He supports this by pointing out that it is "relevant to QDA, but irrelevant to grounded theory" (ibid), stressing again that in her attempt to remodel grounded theory, all Charmaz (2000) has succeeded in doing is "actually proffering a constructivist approach to QDA methods" (Glaser, 2002, para28).

In his response to the points that Charmaz (2000) made within the aforementioned chapter, Glaser (2002) is robust, and, at times, cutting (though on balance so are some of Bryant's (2003) in his reply to Glaser, in defence of Charmaz (2000) and constructivist grounded theory). Glaser (2002) consistently refers to Charmaz's (2000) understanding or interpretations of grounded theory, and the application of constructivist grounded theory as descriptive capture (Glaser, 2001), though he does not expand or clarify this term. Presumably he expects that his readers will understand this concept and have read (or expects them to read) the appropriate work.

His final message is clear however, Glaser (2002) feels that constructivist grounded theory is not an approach to grounded theory in its own right. Rather it is a "remodel[ling] of grounded theory as originated" (ibid, para39) and this "move is not consistent with grounded theory" (ibid). By calling her approach 'constructivist grounded theory' Glaser (2002) feels that this is, by Charmaz (2000) "but a nod to pure grounded theory" (Glaser, 2002, para39) and is actually an "erosion of pure grounded theory" (ibid). However, both Charmaz (2000) and Glaser (2002) appear to agree that the "the future of grounded theory lies with both objectivist and constructivist visions" (Charmaz, 2000, p528; Glaser, 2002, para39). I feel that this is the approach I have taken with this research; bridging the gap between both the objectivist and constructivist camps, utilising aspects from both approaches, in this (albeit predominantly and acknowledged constructivist) grounded theory.

The debate discussing the differences between, and usefulness of, constructivist grounded theory and classic grounded theory; or whether constructivist grounded theory actually even exists as a variant of grounded theory, is continual, continued and live. Ultimately what is important, surely, is the quality of the theory developed, or constructed, or generated. Despite Glaser's (2002) criticisms of her development and usage of constructivist grounded theory, Charmaz (2000) has always maintained some of the Glaserian principles and process. Maybe it is time

to look at grounded theory in more sophisticated ways, in ways that are compatible to the subject area(s) being researched. Something more appropriate would give a more sophisticated methodology for researching rare and unique subjects, as in this Doctorial research. After all, the methods for carrying out grounded theory research are merely guidelines, and not hard and fast rules, they are flexible and adaptable, not written in stone. Earlier, Glaser (2002) said that Charmaz (2000) was “eroding pure grounded theory” (Glaser, 2002, para39) however, maybe this is more of a case of evolution as opposed to erosion. It appears evident that, in bridging the gap between the objectivist and constructivist camps, I have been using the principles of constructivist grounded theory as proposed by Charmaz (2000; 2006) whilst following Glaser’s (1992; 2002) and Glaser & Strauss’s (1967; 1973) classic grounded theory process. Evolution not erosion.

Constructivist Grounded Theory - A Case of Natural Evolution?

Constructivist grounded theory has its roots in the work of Strauss (1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1994, 1998). It underpinned their relativist position and demonstrated their belief that the researcher constructs theory as an outcome of their interpretation of the participant’s stories. A constructivist approach to grounded theory proposes that knowledge is constructed to make sense of experience, and is continually modified and tested in light of new experiences (Schwandt, 1994).

Charmaz, (2004, 2006) offers distinctions from the objectivist, view of grounded theory, as represented by Glaser’s classic (or traditional) mode, She states that by adhering to the Glaserian notion that data represents facts (about the social reality) and that meaning is inherent within data, research is characterised by positivistic ideals as the researcher’s aim is to discover this meaning. In contrast Strauss & Corbin’s (1990, 1994, 1998) approach is more open and reflexive than Glaser’s and emphasises the importance of listening to the voice of the actor in grounded theory

research (Halberg, 2006). There are differing varieties of grounded theory with differing degrees of objectivism and subjectivism inherent within them. Glaser & Strauss (1967) talk about a social theory of reality that is faithful to the everyday realities of the substantive area, substantive reality. Strauss & Corbin (1990, 1998) discuss the researcher's contribution and the structures around the phenomenon and this is more reflexive. It is thinking about the context more (post-positivistic), that is influencing the shared social reality. The constructivist (Charmaz, 2006) approach acknowledges that, whatever exists is a construction that the researcher and participant, as they co-construct representations, bring to the interview. In Strauss & Corbin's (reformulated - or evolved) grounded theory (1990, 1994, 1998), theory is created or constructed in an interactional process between researcher and data, indicating a degree of epistemological subjectivism (see Table 3:2).

Table 3:2 - Classic, Evolved & Constructivist Grounded Theories

	Ontology	Epistemology	Methodology
	<i>(concerned with the forms and nature of reality, a theory of what exists and how it exists)</i>	<i>(concerned with the nature of knowledge and considers the relationship between the knower and what can be known)</i>	<i>(its task is in uncovering and justifying 'research assumptions as far as practicably as possible and in doing so to locate the claims which the research makes within the traditions of enquiry which use it')</i>
Glaser; Glaser & Strauss	~ 'holding the reality' - 'true state of affairs can be ascertained by research, and that the researched object is independent from the researcher. ~ based on symbolic interactionist ontology	~ manipulation of variables seeking to verify hypotheses to uncover knowledge. ~ procedural directions that explicitly lead the researcher towards the ideal of 'to come closer to objectivity'.	~ systematic and in sequential relation - building up of scientific facts.
'classic' - positivistic - objectivist - dualist - critical realist - emphasis on emergence - traditional			
Strauss & Corbin	~ reality exists and can be probabilistically apprehended (critical realism). ~ relativist.	~ pursuit of an accumulation of knowledge through modified experimental research and hypothesis falsification. ~ researchers draw on their experiential knowledge to collect data, for suggesting hypotheses, when analysing data (and more recently) recognising that 'the analyst is also a crucially significant interactant' in the research process.	
're-formulated' - post-positivistic - subjectivist - more open and reflexive than classic - evolving			
Charmaz; Guba & Lincoln; Charmaz & Bryant	~ perceives the nature of reality as a local and specific mental construction formed by a person and multiple mental constructions collectively exist regarding reality.	~ subjectivist. ~ knower is subjectively and interactively linked in relationship to what can be known. ~ dialectical.	~ researcher engages in an inquiry process creating knowledge through interpreted constructions dialectically transacted, thus aiming for more informed and sophisticated (consensus) constructions to provide a reconstructive understanding of a
'constructivist' - relativism - between positivism and postmodernism			

			phenomenon. ~ actively repositioning the researcher as the author of a reconstruction of experience and meaning. ~ reflexive.
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(Based on: Glaser & Strauss (1967); Glaser (1978, 1992); Guba & Lincoln (1994); Strauss & Corbin (1994); Annells (1996); Schwandt (2000); Clough & Nutbrown (2002); Mills, Bonner & Francis (2006); Graham & Thomas (2008))

It can be proposed that Halberg's (2006) assumptions are reasonable to offer at this point:

~ it seems as if Glaser & Strauss's (1967) position in the classic mode of grounded theory remains fairly close to traditional positivism/post-positivism. The result of the classic mode of grounded theory can be presented as a hypothesis that can be further tested using qualitative or quantitative methods or as a theory explaining or predicting the studied area.

~ Strauss & Corbin's reformulated mode of grounded theory has moved more into post-positivism, with an intention to also render the voice of the informant into the results and is driven by a constructivist view of science. Ontologically, Strauss & Corbin's (1990, 1994, 1998) reformulated grounded theory has some positivist leanings but to some extent, this version also acknowledges the interpretivist view. Indeed, Strauss & Corbin's (1990, 1994, 1998) focus on the provision of tools to use in this process confirms their constructivist intent (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006).

~ the constructivist mode of grounded theory represented by Charmaz (2006) is part of the interpretive tradition and a postmodern approach. In constructivist grounded theory, which is positioned within the interpretive tradition, data and analysis are seen as social constructions, reflecting both the participant and the researcher. The result of a constructivist grounded theory can be presented as narratives, or as a story, specifying categories, conditions, conceptual relationships, and consequences.

While Glaser (1998) claims to have the pure version of grounded theory, Strauss & Corbin (1994) show a much more flexible approach, both in describing methods, and in positioning grounded theory. For example they suggest that future researchers may use grounded theory in conjunction with other approaches. A simplified constructivist version of grounded theory can supply effective tools that can be adopted by researchers from diverse populations.

In adopting a constructivist approach to grounded theory there is a need for a sense of reciprocity between the researcher and participants (Mills, et al, 2006) which engenders and facilitates the co-construction of meaning, leading to the use of participants stories encased within the written theory. Strauss & Corbin (1994) reinforce these considerations citing the importance of interplay between the researcher and the participants, and the incorporation of multiple perspectives in writing the emerging theory. The inclusion of participant insights through the recursive sense-making process capitalises on a rich knowledge base (Leonard & McAdam, 2001). This has led Mills, et al (2006) to remark that “clearly, Strauss & Corbin’s (1994) evolved grounded theory has some constructivist intent” (p9).

A methodological spiral is described (Mills, et al, 2007) on which all types of grounded theory exist, and which constructivist grounded theory is at one end. Constructivist grounded theory adds clarity to the relationship between researcher and participant, and openly positions the researcher, as the author of a reconstruction of experience and meaning, while researcher and researched are co-collaborators in information acquisition and data explication. By drawing on past (and in some cases, unconsciously arrived at) knowledge bases and experiences, and by being aware of the influences and impact of these, allowed me to produce a co-constructive narrative of the data. Co-construction is clarified by Etherington (2004) when she stated that “co-constructed conversations can evoke stories that create meaning as they are told” (p39) and the difficulty of eliciting the story has to do with the level of attunement or

reflexivity involved in the act of co-constructing the research narrative (Finlay & Gough, 2003).

Researchers adopting a constructivist stance acknowledge that “the researcher composes the story; it does not simply unfold before the eyes of an objective viewer” (Charmaz, 2000, p522). There is an assumption in constructivism that people have a conceptual framework to make sense of the world they encounter. The concepts have the ability to “provide grounded theorists with such points of departure for developing, rather than limiting, their ideas” (Charmaz, 1995b, p32). Thus, data is constructed through the ongoing reciprocal interaction between researcher and participant, and therefore, action and meaning are dialectical, meaning shapes action and action affects meaning. Constructivists recognise that researchers cannot be objective and for this reason they make their potential influence on the interpretation of the phenomenon (Al-Saggaf & Williamson, 2006). The researcher takes a reflexive stance and studies how, and sometimes why, participants construct meanings and actions in specific situations (Charmaz, 2006). The analysis, which relates to time, culture and context, reflects both the participants and the researcher’s way of thinking. The researcher’s interpretive understanding underpins the grounded theory writing which does not seek to explain the phenomenon but rather how the participants create their understanding and meaning of reality, is the result of the analysis.

The ensuing theory is continuously being revised to account for differences in data until the ‘best grab and fit’ seems to be achieved. There is a saying that poems are never completed, only abandoned (Valery, 1968), similarly it can be said that a grounded theory can never really be complete, for future revisions are always possible. This relates, then, to the goal of the research, which is to offer an interpretation that challenges, provokes, or encourages further questions, rather than one that provides definitive explanations.

Both Strauss & Corbin and Glaser appear to have been untouched by either epistemological debates of the 1960's (see for example: Adler, Adler & Johnson, 1992) or postmodern critiques (eg: Denzin, 1991, 1992). Both endorse a realist ontology and positivist epistemology, albeit with some sharp differences. According to Charmaz (2000) Glaser remains in the positivist camp while Strauss & Corbin less so and as a consequence appear to move between objectivist and constructivist assumptions in various works. Strauss & Corbin's (1990, 1994, 1998) reformulated mode of grounded theory moved more into post-positivism driven by the constructivist view of science that was occurring in the 1990's. The constructivist mode of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000) is part of the interpretive tradition and being an approach between positivism and postmodern.

These differing modes of grounded theory are evidently reflective of their time. It appears obvious that grounded theory has developed in a historical context and has been (and continues to be) modified by the era within which it exists. Researchers (eg: Annells, 1997; Charmaz, 2006) argue that we, as researchers, are not always consciously aware of how an era is shaping our research practice. This means that ontological and epistemological standpoints, ie: our assumptions about what reality is, and how it can be known, are embedded in the different modes of grounded theory and need our reflected standpoints. In the current constructivist mode it appears evident that grounded theory has renewed itself and evolved, which makes it even more useful as a research approach with the capacity to manage the complex and changing world within the 21st Century.

So, Charmaz clearly champions and demonstrates a constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 1990, 2000, 2003b; Chamaz & Mitchell, 2001) that adopts grounded theory guidelines as tools, but does not subscribe to the objectivist, positivist assumptions of its earlier modalities. Constructivist grounded theorists take a reflexive stance on modes of knowing which means giving close attention to empirical realities and our

collected renderings of them and subsequently locating ourselves in these realities. It does not assume that data simply await discovery in an external world or that methodological procedures will correct limited views of the studied world. Nor does it assume that impartial observers enter the research scene without an interpretive frame of reference. In short we share in constructing what we define as data. Similarly our conceptual categories arise through our interpretation of data rather than emanating from them or from our methodological practices. Thus our theoretical analyses are interpretive renderings of a reality, not objective reports of it (Charmaz, 2008).

In describing constructivist grounded theory Charmaz (2000) said that: “A constructivist grounded theory distinguishes between the real and the true. The constructivist approach does not seek truth - single, universal and lasting. Still, it remains realist because it addresses human *realities* and assumes the existence of real worlds ... we must try and find what research participants define as real and where their definitions of reality take them ... we change our conception [of social life] from a real world to be discovered, tracked and categorised to a world *made real* in the minds and through the words and actions of its members” (p523: original emphasis SDK).

These therefore are the reasons why this constructivist grounded theory approach is a preferable choice to utilise, over Glaser’s (1978, 1992, 2001, 2005) approach to Grounded Theory. Having said that, I, as stated at the end of the previous section, believe that my approach to the utilisation of constructivist grounded theory bridged the gap between objectivist and constructivist, in that I used the principles of constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000; 2006) with the process of classic grounded theory (Glaser, 1992, 2002; Glaser & Strauss, 1967, 1973). I remain a constructivist grounded theory researcher, who has developed as a consequence of bumping into (Hoffman, 2004) the phenomenon of the segregated environment and its prisoners. It is through the process and experiences of bumping (Hoffman, 2004) that a personal theory was

constructed through creating and applying personal frameworks. However, such personal frameworks are continually changing through the ongoing exchanges between researcher and participant throughout the research process. A constructivist grounded theory is a new framework for understanding segregation and the interplay of the psychosocial processes, the concept, and the personnel, especially when written as a substantive theory for people to access, engage with, and understand.

Chapter 4

Research Methods

“Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men’s blood . . . Make big plans, aim high in hope and work”.

(Daniel H. Burnham, 1846-1912)

Research Design

Qualitative research is referred to as the naturalistic research or inquiry (Taylor, 1977) into everyday living. Direct observations are made of human behaviour in everyday life. Naturalistic researchers believe that gaining knowledge from sources that have intimate familiarity (Lofland, 1976) with an issue is far better than the objective distancing approach that supposedly characterises quantitative approaches (Haworth, 1984).

A number of advantages of qualitative methodologies have been noted (Gilgun, 1994). Descriptive, inductive, and unobtrusive techniques for data collection (Epstein, 1988) are viewed as compatible with the knowledge and values of this researcher as well as being able to expose psychosocial processes and generalisability. For situations where researchers (for instance in this research) are faced with issues and problems that are not amenable to quantitative examination, qualitative methods have been advocated (Sherman & Reid, 1994). However, with this current study, the methodology and methods were chosen as being the best to help me to answer my research question and generate the right kind of data necessary to construct the substantive theory.

Qualitative approaches also have the advantages of flexibility, in-depth analysis, and the potential to observe a variety of aspects of a social situation (Babbie, 1986; Charmaz, 2006). For instance a qualitative researcher conducting a face-to-face interview can quickly adjust the interview schedule if the interviewee's responses suggest the need for additional probes or lines of inquiry in future interviews. Moreover, by

developing and using questions on the spot, a qualitative researcher can gain a more in-depth understanding of the respondent's beliefs, attitudes, or situation. During the course of an interview, a researcher is able to note changes in bodily expression, mood, voice intonation, and environmental factors that might influence the interviewee's responses (Wengraf, 2002).

The Setting - Prison C

The sample population was drawn from one of the four prisons in my local geographic area that cover the spectrum of facilities and estates. There are two Category B remand and sentenced male prisons (Prisons 'A' & 'B'), one Category A male dispersal prison (Prison 'C') and one Category B female remand and sentenced prison, which serves as a partial Young Offender Institution, and also has a small female Category A section within its campus (Prison 'D') .

It was in The Segregation Unit of Prison C that this research was undertaken, and so provided the sample group. The reason for this choice was primarily one of access, as the other sites either did not grant me access, or they declined to take part in the research. They either refused outright (for a variety of reasons), or they were felt not to be appropriate (by my Supervision Team and/or the prison authorities). Thus, 'Prison C' engaged with this research process and, as suspected, this proved to be a fortuitous outcome as the rare and unique sample site and group had seldom (if ever) permitted access for research purposes. This particular, Category A, establishment has an Operational Capacity of 734 prisoners all of whom are serving four years or over as well as 'High Risk' Remand prisoners. There are seven wings, all with single cells, as well as a Healthcare Centre and Segregation Unit.

The Segregation Unit is separate from the wings. It comprises of two 'spurs' each with two landings. The first landing (the 'Ones') of one spur has seven cells whilst the second landing (the 'Twos') has nine cells. The

other spur also has nine cells on the second landing and on the first there are two normal cells, two 'special cells' and one fitted with CCTV cameras for prisoners requiring constant observation.

Data Sources

Access to these data sources (prisoners in segregation units), as already discussed earlier in this work, for the 'unofficial (non authority) visitor' is not something that the majority of people are likely to ever have. So it was opportune that my work had, over the years, brought me into contact with numerous people within Prison C, who were influential to its inception as well as gaining access to the site and ensuring the research continued. The process commenced innocently enough. One day 'Peter', the Segregation Unit Governor, and I were discussing the Segregation Unit, its functions, occupants, and other assorted issues. I mentioned, in passing, that I would like to do some research within the Unit, it had never been done before and felt that this could be the perfect opportunity to combine unique research with a PhD. At that time it was just part of a general conversation, and therefore a comment that I did not feel would be taken too seriously. Over the following months I was invited to a number of meetings, initially with just the Governor of the Segregation Unit and subsequently with himself and some of his peers and Deputies (for example the Segregation Unit Principal Officer). These discussions covered a number of issues, from what sort of research I was actually thinking about carrying out (at that stage it was obviously still very nebulous), through the process of seeking and gaining official approval, to the actual practicalities of carrying out the research (access, safety and similar). Through these meetings with the Segregation Unit Governor and Principal Officer, and other members of the Segregation Unit, I effectively demonstrated that I had an understanding of the internal politics, processes and security issues. The fact that I had 'a history' in, and around, such environments was, I feel, beneficial to the access gaining procedure as well as my overall standing and status. Thus I gained their

trust and also gained access to the Segregation Unit and the prisoner population. Outside of these meetings I also commenced the process of instigating my Doctoral studies, preparing proposals and seeking ethical approval. The appropriate Ethical Approval forms were completed (the HMP Ethical Approval Forms were given to me by, and returned to, the Segregation Unit Governor, and he would ensure they were dealt with). Ethical Approval was ultimately granted (see Appendix 2 for copies of approval letters).

I had expected, and was ready to accept, from an early stage, that access to the Segregation Unit and to the prisoners themselves would not be easy, especially as an academic wishing to access this environment for purely academic reasons. However, once all the discussions had concluded and plans made regarding access and researcher safety, things started moving at a pace, a bit convoluted, but ultimately fruitful, resulting in successful Security Clearance and permission to start the research. Acquiring official security clearance is essential, though equally important is ensuring that it is up to date at all times. This ensured, with one exception (as mentioned in Chapter 1 where my Clearance expired), that I had the approved means of gaining, arranged, access for the interviews.

Access to the unique sample group was as a consequence of my persistence and desire to carry out, and complete, this research and this carried me through periods when access was difficult, or non-existent, or things happened to dampen my spirits and rethink my reasons for doing this study (see the 'hostage' example in Chapter 1). Once the initial access had been granted maintaining this was ensured through regular communications with all necessary parties, the Segregation Unit Governor, Segregation Principal Officer, and 'Peter'. However, at times this proved difficult as, over the data collection period, personnel changes required that I had a new line of management and Unit staff to include in discussions and inform of the research progress, thankfully 'Peter' was the one constant throughout so he acted as mediator and go between. Once the interviews were held outwith the Segregation Unit, the lines of

information were reduced to the Segregation Governor and Principal Officer and 'Peter', and access to these data sources was easier and 'Peter' was instrumental (as can be seen later in this chapter) in negotiating and facilitating these. Within an environment such as this research site the key to effective and consistent access to 'live' data sources is communication. I soon learned that key personnel, while not concerned with the content of the interviews (unless it contravened prison safety and security), were interested in the fact that they took place and any untoward occurrences that may, or may not, have occurred. This was either relayed to them directly, or through 'Peter', but lines of communication had been established early and were maintained throughout the data gathering process. To do otherwise would have easily compromised access to my primary data source.

Primary data were collected, following negotiation and approval via the approved channels (subject to a number of conditions), entirely from prisoners who were currently resident within, or who had recently (within two months) left, the Segregation Unit and returned to their respective wings. This two month period was felt to be an appropriate timescale for any immediate risks, that may have been present or an issue when they were in Segregation, to have receded, and also that their memories of their experiences would still be sufficiently clear for the interviews. In addition to recording the interviews, field notes (Easton, McComish & Greenberg, 2000) were taken both immediately after the interviews, reflecting on both the actual content of the interviews as well as the 'event' surrounding the interview (as can be seen in the examples used in this chapter). Field notes, in this respect, were used as a contemporaneous diary, with entries, thoughts, impressions and recollections being added as, and when, they occurred.

Secondary qualitative data are a rich and unique, yet often unexploited, source of research material that can be (re)analysed, reworked and compared (Corti, Witzel & Bishop, 2005) contemporaneously with primary data. Methodologically, the objective of the secondary data analysis

involves “evaluating pre-existing data from a new perspective in order to investigate or examine a concept that was not central to the original research work” (Medjedović & Witzel, 2007, para9). Other times this is engaged in because the topics of the research project and the theoretically sampled (as is the case in this study) literature are interrelated and it would simply not be beneficial to confine data to only the most recent (primary) data. The intention is to provide a rich description of the phenomena in question (Konopásek & Kusá, 2000), utilising as many data sources as is required until theoretical saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) occurs through “mutually related concepts that would represent noteworthy patterns and regularities” (Konopásek & Kusá, 2000, para8).

Secondary data were collected during and arising from the data analysis process. Two issues were becoming evident as analysis progressed. Firstly, that the sample number was probably going to be small, which meant that an alternative source of data needed to be investigated, and, that the prisoners interviewed were all, whilst relating their individual experiences, talking about ‘survival’ and ‘segregation’. It was therefore appropriate to use these theoretically derived themes to seek out sources of secondary data. Using clearly defined criteria; that the material was pertaining to prison segregation, that they were firsthand accounts written in the 1st person, and narrative, and that they could be subject to transcript analysis, a search was undertaken. Having carried out repeated and frequent searches on the academic databases, it became evident that there was not a lot of relevant secondary data available, and what there was (which did not fulfil this criteria) have already been highlighted in Chapter 2 (Segregation: The Back Story). The actual secondary data found for analysis was done so following a systematic search using the generic Google search engine. The same keywords used to undertake the literature search for the ‘back story’ (see Chapter 2) ‘segregation’, ‘prison’, inmate(s), ‘prisoner(s)’ ‘jail(s)’, ‘solitary confinement’ and ‘experiences’ were used, and the above criteria applied. An initial search of just ‘segregation’ was carried out and this resulted (using the ‘UK pages only’

option) in over 606,000 'hits'. Once all the terms were used together this reduced the number to (again UK pages only) 1,130 'hits'.

Results and citations that originated from the various online dictionaries, encyclopaedias and 'ask-me', 'questions-answered' websites, or blogs and discussion lists were also not considered. A lot of material, therefore, was brutally sifted so that only relevant material was kept. This resulted in the identification of two further 'participant transcripts' both of which, incidentally, presented as being victims of 'the system'. I already had two further accounts in books though one was disregarded as it did not meet the above criteria. This resulted in a total of three, theoretically sampled, 'case studies' of secondary data.

The resulting three firsthand accounts, while drawn from secondary data sources, were approached in the same methodological manner as the primary data sources, the interviews. It had been hoped, in the initial planning stages of this research, that prisoner case notes and official documents would/could be included, and analysis would occur concurrently with the primary and secondary data analysis. However, due to the aforementioned inability to access any up-to-date official, Her Majesty's Prison Service, documentation (see Chapter 2: Segregation: The Back Story) pertaining to Segregation Units, and the refusal of the prison authorities to allow me any access to the prisoner's records, these potentially valuable data sources could not be utilised.

The majority of the data collection (the interviews) took place in the neutral environment of the Prison Healthcare Centre, with one exception. This will be expanded upon further in this chapter, but it is worth repeating the fact that I was given a degree of freedom in terms of my time with the participants, as, again alluded to earlier, I was permitted to interview the participants without an Officer chaperone being present. This occurred in both the Healthcare Centre as well as, more notably, the Segregation Unit itself. While the regime, routine and purpose of these two environments differed, the privilege and trust I was given did not. Further details of the

environmental aspects of this research can be found in various places throughout this thesis.

Sampling

Purposive and Theoretical

Charmaz (2006) makes the distinction between initial (in this instance, the purposive phase) and theoretical sampling, in that initial sampling provides a point of departure, while theoretical sampling directs ‘who you ask’ and ‘what you ask the data’, and offers the opportunity for elaboration and refinement. The criteria for initial sampling are different from those used for the theoretical sampling. For the initial sampling criteria are established for people, cases, situations, and settings before you enter the field. Theoretical sampling pertains only to conceptual and theoretical development; it is *not* about representing a population. Theoretical sampling refers to the method of selecting participants (and/or sites, as well as possible alternative, additional, data sources), based on their theoretical relevance, rather than being predetermined (Glaser, 1978). Additional sites, participants and data sources are determined as the study progresses, and as constructs and relationships start to evolve.

As the initial purposive sampling suggested I, initially, selected the types of participants who had certain attributes with a specific purpose in mind (Berg, 1995). Purposive sampling used to be only “occasionally used” (p179) though now this method is commonly used for sampling by grounded theorists (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Dey, 1999). Maximum variation denotes the required variation across the sample. However, this was not achievable as I had no control over the (primary) sample, no control over who was being sampled (apart from them fulfilling the criteria). Therefore they were purposive as in having all been in segregation and, basically, I got what (who) I was given. I did not have any indication of who they were, or any of their characteristics, or experiences, or time in, or

time since being in, segregation prior to them walking into the interview room. Not being able to choose a site or obtain access to a relevant participant should not become a problem for the researcher (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) rather they should make the most of what is available to them. No two participants or interview scenarios are likely to be identical so variation does occur naturally.

As data were collected, theoretical sampling occurred simultaneously throughout initial analysis, by utilising this data obtained from the initial participants and their interviews, and initial explorations of relevant literature and documentation (Draucker, Martsolf, Ross & Rusk, 2007). Such (theoretically sampled) data was seen as the “tentative theoretical jumping off points from which to begin theory development” (Thompson, 1999, p816). Sampling therefore was sequential, beginning with purposive sampling, which collected data from face to face interviews with the participants, and moving into theoretical sampling as concepts began to emerge, and resulted in the collection and analysis of the documentary sources of data as mentioned earlier. Coding processes are closely tied to theoretical sampling in grounded theory (Strauss, 1987), thus the identification of potential future respondents, and the line of interviewing, and other, alternative, data sources, was dependent upon the direction of the data analysis.

Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection directed by a/the evolving theory (Draucker, et al, 2007) rather than by any predetermined population characteristics (Strauss, 1987) and is a pivotal strategy in grounded theory methodology (Charmaz, 2000). This conforms with Glaser & Strauss (1967), Glaser (1978) and Becker (1993) when they stated that sampling should be theoretical, rather than purposeful, and be driven by the emerging theory. However, it is also suggested (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Morse, 1991) that the two terms are actually interchangeable, while Patton (1990) argues that all types of sampling in qualitative research is purposive which adds to the confusion.

In order to uncover the situated, contextual, core and subsidiary social processes (Cutcliffe, 2000), we must ensure that they are shared, and experienced, by the individuals who make up the sample group. When using a narrow or focused sample (as is the case with this study), we are advised (Morse, 1991) to seek out participants who have the most experience of the topic. In this sense grounded theory has been termed local theory (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) as this brings together, and systematises, isolated individual theory. Selection of a sample that is not local is likely to provide data, and subsequently theory, that has a partial or limited understanding of the process being studied. If the intention is to induce a substantive theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), as is the case here, that is applicable to one substantive group, then the researcher needs to sample groups of the same substantive type: (eg: a narrow sample, ie: prisoners from a/the Segregation Unit).

The Sampling of a Rare Population

As already stated and alluded to so far, the sample site and population (and thus, group) utilised in this study, are taken from one Segregation Unit within one specific Category A Prison. This was a rare opportunity given to this research (and myself as researcher) for access to such a site and population is extremely limited and rarely, and cautiously, agreed to. This is a unique research site, rarely entered by any persons other than those officially permitted. This, and the enigmatic nature of this site, all add to its importance (as a research site) for this, as very little research has been carried out, ensures the substantive theory derived has an important place in penal and social science research.

It is unclear how typical the prisoners interviewed were of all prisoners who are, or had been, in segregation within this, or other, prisons. As they are all from the same category A prison and, accordingly, have all experienced the daily life of that prison as well as the same phenomena of spending time within the same segregated environment, we can assume that there are a lot of similarities between them and their life events. During the

interviews the reasons they cited for being sent to segregation were all different, though they shared, with one exception, the fact that they had all come into conflict with the prison authorities and some form of punitive action was required; hence the time they spent in The Segregation Unit. This one factor apart, however, it is questionable as to what is a 'typical' segregation prisoner; what, apart from breaking the establishment's rules, are the common, typical, features, though not even this is a common feature. However, within grounded theory, a typical, representative sample is not really being looked for. These (or any) real (or perceived) common features do not guide the direction of the sampling, or research. Rather it is what is emerging from the analysis that provides the guidance, following the principles of theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Strauss, 1987; Morse, 1991; Becker, 1993; Charmaz, 2000; 2006).

The sample group themselves are rare and unique in their exclusiveness and obscurity (even within a system that demands its population be concealed, this group are abstruse). As with the site, access to these prisoners, especially when they are confined within the segregation unit is restricted and strictly controlled. Detention within 'the prison's prison' is for very specific reasons and very closely managed. Their personal and criminological attributes, and the way these have been responded to by the authorities, determine that they have no (or very limited) contact with anybody other than prison staff or legal representatives. They are held within a community which does not permit entrance to outsiders, all this within one of the most secure (prison establishment) regimes in the country.

This all enhances and underlines these prisoners specialness as a sample group. For data (knowledge, experiences, life stories), such as is offered here, have rarely been heard before in their own voices, especially in the construction of a substantive grounded theory such as this.

Whilst these are positive attributes and aspects of this site and population as a research sample, there are also a number of issues that needed to be given consideration, and inclusion, when designing all aspects of this research. Sampling (especially with rare or deviant populations) is always a theoretical matter before a technical one (Lee, 1993). Therefore, sampling becomes increasingly more difficult the more sensitive the topic under investigation, since participants will potentially have more reason to shield their activities. Deviant worlds are often shielded from conventional worlds (Rock, 1973) in ways which may induce (research) failure. Accessing a sample that is characterised as rare is more difficult than trying to obtain a sample characterised solely by its deviant behaviour. For not only is the sample group rare and unique, they are also convicted criminals deemed to be deviant, unpredictable, recalcitrant and dangerous. Also, they are vulnerable, controlled and, (to a large extent) without a voice. But more importantly it must never be forgotten that they are individuals and human beings, and afforded the respect that this, on its own, deserves.

“Vulnerable”, “difficult to access” and “a hidden population” (Liamputtong, 2007, p4) are said to be contained within all social groups and this sample certainly falls into all of these categories (being a hidden, vulnerable population within a difficult to access, micro and macro prison social group). It is this hidden-ness, or invisibility that attracted me, as a researcher, to this group and setting. A caveat is offered (Liamputtong, 2007) to the research(er) dealing with vulnerable and/or hard to reach participants, in that it is important that researchers are more vigilant about their procedures and “procedural sensitivity” (Dunbar, Rodriguez & Parker, 2002, p290).

Researching some hard to access, rare, or vulnerable, participants has the potential of being dangerous to the researcher (see for examples: Adler, 1990; Renzetti & Lee, 1993; Lawrinson & Harris, 1994; Lee, 1995; Sluka, 1995; O'Neill, 1996; Craig, Corden & Thornton, 2000; Jamieson, 2000; Kenyon & Hawker, 2000; Lee-Treweek, 2000; Lee-Treweek & Linkogle,

2000; Seal, Bloom & Somali, 2000; Dickson-Swift, 2005). There are numerous dangers involved in accessing and researching such rare and vulnerable populations and this study was not without its share. The fact that the population are prisoners who can be (and frequently are) problematic is compounded by the fact that they are deemed to be dangerous, anti-social (either potentially or actually) and their behaviours warrant time in the Segregation Unit, which all add to the dangers and difficulties encountered in the field during data collection (Dunlap, Johnson, Sanabria, et al, 1990; Calvey, 2000; Hopper & Moore, 2001; Warr, 2004).

As well as, or instead of, studying deviant groups directly, the researcher can, and should, utilise a variety of indirect data sources (Becker, 1970) which may include archival or running records (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, et al, 1966). The need for more than one data source has been highlighted (Schreiber, 2001) when using an interpretive paradigm such as grounded theory. Consequently this prisoner sample consisted of prisoners who were not only in the Segregation Unit for punishment, or protection, but also included those 'employed' as cleaners. As mentioned earlier access to contemporary official documentation was not possible, so this particular strand of data source did not get utilised. The theoretical sampling and use of documented 'case studies' from alternative and additional segregation prisoners was deemed appropriate and beneficial.

Eligibility Criteria

To be eligible for inclusion in this study all prisoners were required to meet the following criteria:

- Has to be (for whatever the reason) a current resident in the Segregation Unit;
- Alternatively, they are to have been (for whatever the reason) a resident in the Segregation Unit within the previous two months;

- They are to be considered (by the Officers in the Segregation Unit) not to be an immediate danger to this author (above and beyond the safety arrangements already made) or to potentially breach safety and security during the interview process;
- To be willing to take part in this research.

An exclusion criterion existed (apart from expressing a desire NOT to take part in the research) which focused upon mental state and current behaviour of the prisoner. If either or both were such that would negate a safe and/or informed interview situation then they were (even if they had previously agreed to take part in the research) temporarily removed from the particular series of interviews, though there was always the option to interview them again once this mental state and/or behaviour improved.

Participant Recruitment

The first wave of participants, were to be recruited directly from within the Segregation Unit itself.

Contact was made with the Segregation Unit Governor, and when we met in the Unit he introduced me to his Principal Officer who then (with another three members of staff) took me around the Unit in order to get a feel for the environment as he explained about the Unit, its policies and procedures, how they worked, and how they impacted upon, and were affected by, the environment as well as the population. They then (closely following policy, procedure and individual security requirements) opened each cell and introduced me to the prisoner, and vice versa. At that point I was permitted to explain this research, its aims and the process to the prisoner and invite him to participate. A Participant Information Sheet (Appendix 3) was handed to him to read (though I could not pass this to the prisoner myself, for security reasons it had to go via an Officer, of which there were three positioned between the prisoner, myself and the Unit Governor). If, after reading the Information Sheet, they either agreed,

provisionally agreed or refused without hesitation, the Participant Information Sheet was retrieved and they were thanked for their time. A number of prisoners agreed to read the Information Sheet later and their decision would be relayed to the staff who would contact me on a telephone number that was left in the Segregation Unit Detail Office.

On this first visit to the Segregation Unit I (with permission) left a number of posters and other fliers informing staff of the research and that I would be visiting regularly and would appreciate their assistance by informing me if any prisoners voiced an interest in taking part in the study. From this (and a number of similar visits) a number of prisoners agreed to take part in the study (though later changed their minds) and when I came to arrange an interview with those who had agreed I found that they had either been moved back to the wings from whence they came (and were no longer interested), or transferred to another prison. However, I did manage to ascertain one definite participant from this recruitment phase, as he was effectively, a permanent feature of the Segregation Unit and thus highly unlikely to be moved on (and almost certainly never going to be returned to the wings) before we could facilitate the interview. From this it became evident that an alternative method of contacting and recruiting participants was required.

The second stage of participant recruitment was planned, and with the assistance of 'Peter', was duly implemented. My intention (following discussions with the Segregation Unit Principal Officer and Governor) was to contact prisoners who, within the previous three weeks had left the Segregation Unit. At that time a new policy had been implemented whereby all prisoners were assessed by the Healthcare Centre staff prior to leaving the segregation unit and (where appropriate) they were returned to the main prison via the Healthcare Centre. This seemed an obvious, and fortuitous, route to attempt to recruit participants. 'Peter' and I (again with the agreement of the Healthcare Centre and Segregation Unit Governor(s), who was actually the same person) composed a letter that would be 'posted' to each prisoner who had been released from the

Segregation Unit within the previous three weeks. This letter contained the same information regarding the research, its data collection process and confidentiality assurances, as well as a copy of the Participant Information Sheet that was given to the prisoners within the Segregation Unit (although the venue for the interview had been changed). A pre-addressed return envelope was included (addressed to 'Peter') for the prisoner to return his response, be it either positive or negative. The letters were then 'posted', hand delivered, to the prisoners or pushed under their cell door (with wing staff permission) by 'Peter'. From this, I unfortunately, recruited nobody to participate in the study.

The third (and to be considered final) stage of recruitment was discussed between myself and various parties within the prison. We decided that we would repeat the previous strategy, but this time extend the time period to those prisoners who, within the previous two months, had come through Healthcare Centre on their way back to the wings from the Segregation Unit. This proved to be successful, and the initial posting of invitations resulted in five invitations returned promptly affirming that they were willing to take part in the study, and another four replied saying they were tentatively interested, pending more information.

From these original five interviews a number of other possible prisoner participants were suggested. These were approached in either of two ways: one would be that the prisoner who suggested them would offer to talk to them, and if they were interested they would get in touch with 'Peter' in the Healthcare Centre. However, this snowballing approach to sampling did not prove to be fruitful. More often the case it was 'Peter' who got in touch with these other prisoners to see if they were interested in participating. However, for a number of reasons, though primarily the prisoner not being interested, this method of recruitment failed to engage anybody new. There were a couple of prisoners who were interested, but security and safety issues (which were not disclosed to me) prevented the opportunity to interview these (potential) participants. At the same time the other four prisoners who were (tentatively) interested were contacted,

though they had either moved prisons, or changed their minds in the intervening time period.

Due to the intricate, rare, unique and dangerous nature of the population, and the complexities and difficulties relating to access, for political and security issues, it was always expected that this was going to be a small sample. While a (minimum) number of 10 was felt to be a good sample size, a total of six people were finally recruited and interviewed. The sample group size was ultimately dependent upon how quickly and easily (and it was neither quick nor easy) access to participants could be achieved, before a change in either prison staff or prisoners meant that the whole introduction and canvassing process had to be gone through again.

While a benefit of larger sample sizes is that you can develop more detail around conceptual categories by asking people who come later in the study about, for example, specific 'properties', small sample sizes and (therefore potentially) limited data do not pose a threat nor problem. For grounded theory methods aim to develop conceptual categories (Stern, 1994; Glaser, 1998). Data collection therefore is intended to shed light on the properties of, and the relations between, categories. Where it is known that the final sample is going to be small, then the researcher has to make the data work harder to increase the quality. This commenced at the data collection stage, working with, and within, the interviews, and at the analysis before progressing to working on a conceptual level. By moving between the concepts as they developed and allowing them to develop in a natural way, terms and phrases for categories and codes changed as the development progressed. This meant that the data was being proactive in the successful construction of a coherent core category. At each iterative stage all the sub-categories and codes were tested for fit, and those that were felt not to be, were re-constructed, re-tested, and re-checked to the data, and to the text. This iteration and re-iteration of concepts helped me to make the data work harder for me. I felt, and this was supported by my Supervision Team, that the uniqueness of the sample (and the overall research project), and the richness and quality of

the data captured, compensated for the low sample number. Also the quality of the theory is being able to be judged for coherence, grab and fit and usefulness.

The final six 'face-to-face' interviews, and the subsequent data, and the documentary case studies (as discussed earlier), together brought the sample size for final analysis and synthesis to nine. The published accounts were analysed as though they were interview transcripts and this was possible due to their first hand, narrative, style of writing, the telling of a tale from the first person perspective, in their own words. This narrative style was also in keeping with the appropriate use of the 1st person to recount and relate experiences (from both researcher and participant) to provide data which is derived from 'real life'. This data was initially sought, and then utilised, once it became apparent from the primary data sources that a number of themes were emerging from an early stage in the collection/analysis process. Thus analysing these concurrently with the primary data sources gave me the opportunity to support the development of, and filling out of, the categories which, by doing so, made the categories prosper. It was at this point that theoretical saturation (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1990) occurred naturally.

Due to the aforementioned characteristics of the sample group and environment (as well as an obvious desire to maintain security and confidentiality) the opportunity to return for follow up, or confirmatory, interviews was not an issue, for it was not allowed. This was made clear from the outset. Only one interview per prisoner was to be permitted.

Sample and Characteristics

It is traditional to include demographic details of the sample in this section. However, due to the security, and (the potential for) any political implications of (some of) this sample, I will be omitting anything relating to the individual person or their location. This condition was also a (an obvious) requirement dictated by Her Majesty's Prison Service whilst

negotiating access. Obviously it would be a gross breach of all rules of consent and confidentiality to give anything other than a flavour of the participants in this research. However, by way of a brief introduction to the sample it is appropriate to give an example of their index offences and the reason(s) why they had been in segregation. Five of the sample, (both primary and secondary sources), were convicted of murder varying from singular to multiple, one was convicted of sexual offences, one of house breaking (with violence), one for armed robbery and one was unknown as he did not wish to discuss this matter in the interview. The participants in the sample were all doing long sentences ranging from 10 years to life. The reasons, by their own admission during the interviews, for them being sent to the Segregation Unit were varied: four for Good Order and Discipline, one for 'standing up for his rights', one for refusing to conform, as a protest against his conviction, one for his own protection, one for fighting (attacking) another prisoner, and one because 'he enjoyed it there', though in actuality he was caught in possession of drugs.

Data Collection Methods

Hardware, software, and considerations

All the interviews were recorded on an Olympus mini (portable and hand held) digital voice recorder with a supplementary table top microphone (rather than using the inbuilt one on the recorder which does not have the range of reception that the table top one offered). This method benefitted the interviews greatly as this was fairly unobtrusive and once placed on a table top it was easy to ignore and did not become a distraction. One of the practical benefits of using a digital recorder is the ability to extend the recording time from 40 minutes, up to 2½ hours without any loss in quality. With the option of longer recording time the equipment fades into the background, allowing both the participant and the interviewer to focus on the task at hand, without the interruption (Given, 2004) of needing to return to the recorder to restart the recording. The absence of the tapes

means that there is no need to pause (or even stop) the interview to change tapes, as this increases the risk of missing something important. It appears a fact of life that participants always seem to make the most fascinating statements just when an audio tape needs to be 'flipped over' (ibid), and these statements are often lost during that process, or only reasonably captured in a field note at the end of the interview. Another of the main benefits was that the clarity of the interviews offered by the digital sound files is far superior to that of traditional audio tapes and are not subject to 'wow and flutter' (ibid) as audio tapes sometimes are, and provides several hours of recording time on its rechargeable battery, nor is there any risk of physical degeneration of tapes.

Once the interviews were complete the interview digital sound files were then transferred to my personal space on the University (secure) server, along with all other files associated with this Doctoral study. All files were accessed for analysis through the remote access facility and then returned to the server for storage, thus providing the necessary data security. I also utilised facilities for, and my ability to, edit (improve and amend) the sound quality of the file for ease of transcription (which I did myself in an attempt to ensure true replication of the interview as well as capture all the nuances and inflections). This method is obviously more advantageous than, not only the 'old' audio tapes but also, even the newer mini discs, for the fact there are no 'transferrable data mediums', discs, which are prone to a range of problems and opportunities to break, be faulty, or even worse, get lost.

The audio handling software used was Soundforge[®] 5. This is a versatile speech, music and video editing package, I have used (minimally) previously as well as already having a copy on my laptop through which I remotely accessed the University server. However, the Olympus digital recorder (like most others) uses a compressed recording format (called DSS) that must be converted to an alternative audio format before being exported into analysis software. Soundforge[®] 5 accepts a number of digital audio formats, including .wav, .au, .snd, and .mp3. In selecting between

audio formats, Mitchell, Peterson & Kaya (2004) remind us that researchers must consider file size and the amount of available hard drive storage space on the computer (or in this case, my personal space on the University server). To keep memory usage to a minimum, I converted all the DSS files to .mp3, using Xilisoft Mp3 WAV Converter[®] software (a free audio editor) (mp3's are a compressed file format that reduces the file size to approximately one tenth the size of a .wav file while still retaining the data in a standard format that is playable on most PC's). For added security each interview sound file has a password, as has the interview transcript file and the folder it is contained in, as well as every major folder containing all associated files for this study and thesis. Of course access to the University server and my personal space is controlled with username recognition and passwords.

Data Collection

The primary data collection method was the, single, semi-structured interview conducted with each participant. Secondary methods included written field notes, a research diary (though this was more in the form of theoretical memoing during the coding stages rather than a true diary) and analysis of the aforementioned. Documented and published first hand case study accounts of prisoner's experiences in Segregation Units were chosen as the, theoretically sampled, secondary data sources. Participants were interviewed once between March, 2004 and November, 2005, and these were recorded, transcribed and entered into a computer purely to assist data management, although data collection and analysis occurred concurrently.

Interviews

Interviews are typically classified as structured, semi-structured or unstructured (Morse & Field, 1996; Minichiello, Madison, Hays, et al, 1999; Fontana & Frey, 2000). While many qualitative interviews have both structured and unstructured (or at least, less, structured) parts that vary in

the balance between them (Rubin & Rubin, 2005), grounded theory studies most often use focussed themes, and a semi-structured format (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). A semi-structured interview refers to one based on predetermined questions and/or (as is the case here) topic areas (Berg, 1995). Questions are asked of each participant, initially in a systematic order, though freedom permits the interviewer to digress and probe in directions that are dictated by the participants' response.

All qualitative interviews have three shared characteristics that distinguish them from other forms of data gathering (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Firstly, that interviews are adaptations (or extensions) of ordinary conversations. Secondly, interviewers are more interested in the understanding, knowledge, and insights, of the interviewees than in categorising people (or events) in terms of academic theories. Thirdly, the content of the interview, as well as the flow and choice of topics, change to match what the individual interviewee knows and feels. Interviews deal with thinking and talking, and these are later transformed into texts (Nunkoosing, 2005).

If we approach interviewing as a social encounter in which knowledge is constructed then this will result in interviews that are more than simple information gathering operations, they become the site, and occasion, for producing knowledge itself (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). Being aware that knowledge is created from the actions required to obtain it, qualitative interviewing explores the meanings that people develop in social situations (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). The researcher has to find the right voice (Holloway & Jefferson, 2005) and the taken-for-granted understandings (Schultz, 1967) within the research setting.

Interviews and Grounded Theory

Grounded theory interviewing differs (Charmaz, 2003a, 2006) from in-depth interviewing. As the research process proceeds, grounded theorists

narrow the range of interview topics to gather specific data for their theoretical framework. These methods influence interviewing approaches and styles by providing a series of inductive steps that successfully lead the researcher from concrete realities to a conceptual understanding of them. Such methods depend upon a certain amount of flexibility. As well as picking up and pursuing themes in interviews, grounded theorists look for ideas by studying data, and then return to the field to gather focused data to answer analytical questions, and fill conceptual gaps.

All the variants of grounded theory include the following strategies: (a) simultaneous data collection and analysis, (b) pursuit of emergent themes through early data analysis, (c) discovery of basic social processes within the data, (d) indicative construction of abstract categories that explain and synthesise these processes, (e) sampling to refine the categories through comparative processes, and, (f) integration of categories into a theoretical framework that specifies causes, conditions and consequences of the studied processes (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978, 1992; Strauss, 1987, 1995; Charmaz, 1990, 2000; Corbin & Strauss 2008)

The (Semi-Structured) Interviews

Prior to commencement of the interviewing and data collection a list of themes and topics was developed, primarily through prior knowledge and experience of the environment, the type of person who would make up the sample, and some of the issues relevant. Subsequently, all questions and interviews were guided by the emergent themes and theoretical sampling (Berg, 1995) though with flexibility in wording and ordering (and even inclusion, or omission) of the topics (Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell & Alexander, 1990).

After reminding the participant about the purpose of the research and the reason for undertaking it, and recapping the confidentiality issues, as well as the fact that they had agreed to take part, I, as is usual, started with general questions (Dey, 1999). A general, social, opening question, of

“how are you”, was used, then moving onto an explanatory and probing question of “‘Peter’ tells me that you have recently been in the Segregation Unit, could we talk about this a bit please”. All participants were happy (in fact, very keen) to talk about their time in the Segregation Unit. This probably was a consequence of them being aware of the research and the topic areas prior to agreeing to take part, through receiving the Participant Information Sheet, so they knew in advance what they could/would be talking about. If they did not want to talk about this experience they (presumably) would have declined to take part in the research or let me know during the interview, changed the subject or just avoided it altogether. It was suspected, by ‘Peter’ and I, that some of the participants used these interviews as an opportunity to meet an external person who was genuinely interested in what they have to say, while others could simply see it as an alternative to the normal mundanity of daily life, somebody new to break the monotony of sameness and routine.

“... 99% of what I will do today is exactly the same as I did yesterday ... and tomorrow ... and every other day after that ... 99% of prison life is pure drudgery ... there is nothing to do ... there really is nothing to do ...” (P1).

As interviews, and the concurrent analysis, progressed, questions became more focussed on issues that derived from, and were evidently common to, the sample and thus important to the developing theory (Wimpenny & Gass, 2000). For example, when a pattern of topics started to emerge after the first interviews these were used to guide further interviews. An example of this was the quickly recurring topic of ‘survive/surviving/survival’, which also instigated the acquisition of the secondary data sources, through theoretical sampling. This focussing of questions helps to saturate categories, establish relationships between categories and refine the emerging theory (Dey, 1999).

I felt that, in some respects, the interview was beneficial for some participants as they were afforded the opportunity to reflect on the actions that resulted in them being sent to the Segregation Unit, as well as their

abilities to cope with it, and the added ordeals it created for them. Whilst for others it was the chance to tell their life stories and demonstrate that they were/are victims of 'the system'. A number appeared to also use the interviews as a way of reinforcing their position within the prison system, and used this time to highlight and regale how they had not been, nor will ever be, beaten by the system, and how (ultimately) they had beaten it by a variety of means.

Also it has to be considered that it may be 'the celebrity of crime' that is motivating the prisoner to talk to you, the chance to be vain, the opportunity to brag and reinforce (at least in their own eyes) his social status.

Field Note Extract

Length and Location of Interviews

The length of interviews was between one and two hours, though there was no pre-determined length, which is why the shortest was just over half an hour and the longest over two hours. It is worth noting that the prisoners had no major limitations of time, no other engagements to attend to. We were simply given (by the prison staff) a period (a three hour slot) where the prisoner could stay in the interview for as long as they wanted. This was due to the daily routine and regime of the prison, and the interviews were fitted into (and around) the activities that normally occurred. So, for example, between 9am and 12md they would normally have been in one of the workshops, or some other such activity but instead they were being interviewed, so that was their three hour activity for that period. This three hour period would include being transferred from their respective wing to the place where the interviews were being held, and escorted to the interview room (and of course back to the wing). This was a potentially lengthy process, for as it was not a recognised prison activity it did not rate highly on the list of other, priority duties, for certain prison staff, unlike other, necessary, prisoner movements. So it was not uncommon for a full hour to be taken up before the interview even started, as shown in the following field note extract.

I had arrived at the prison at my usual time so that I could be in the room to be used for interviews in time for movements to start at 9. I sat in the 'interview' room and waited for ** [prisoner to be interviewed] to be transferred from the wing for the interview. Every time the SO walked past the door he asked if I was OK and I replied that I was and that I was just waiting for ** to come down from the wing for the interview. He said that he would let me know when he came down and bring him along. At about 10:15 'Peter' walked past, saw me in the room and asked if I was finished already. I explained that I hadn't even started and that I was still waiting for **. He said he would sort it and (less than) 5 minutes later he walked in with **. After introductions ** said that he had been in the holding cell since 9:15 and the staff just didn't bother bringing him down. I mentioned this to 'Peter' afterwards and he said that he had done some 'checking' and this was right – for some reason the staff just couldn't be bothered – or forgot – or chose to ignore the fact that I was here to see ** and had left us (both) sitting less than 10 yards from each other for over an hour. 'Peter' offered an explanation and comment of this (which matched that offered by [prisoner]) and it was neither very polite nor flattering.

Field Note Extract

The length of the interview was obviously determined by the responsiveness of the participant, and this was a reflection of the quality of the relationship that was formed between us during the interview itself. The interviews were not (with the one aforementioned exception) greatly pressured for time and there was time for them to develop and run their natural course, until they came to a natural conclusion, however short or long that may be. On a couple of occasions the interviews had to be interrupted by the Officers who were wanting to take the prisoner back to their wing for lunch (or evening meal) and so the interview was brought to a halt. I feel that this unawareness of time was a sign of a successful interview, one where time was not the important factor rather it was the ongoing, natural, discussion that was occurring that was the important feature. These interviews invariably (and retrospectively) produced the most interesting discussions with richness of information and data.

The location of the interviews was a very important feature of this research due to the dangerous and unpredictable nature of the prisoners (hence their residence in the Segregation Unit) as well as the need for the prison,

and Her Majesty's Prison Service, to maintain researcher safety and overall prison security. Location also had a major impact on the confidentiality, and privacy, offered, and thus the relationship entered into with the participant. I had requested from the outset that I have privacy with the prisoner, and that there would be no Officers present during the interview. This took some negotiation but it was, conditionally, agreed (as discussed in the Chapter 1).

Despite a, potential, increase in opportunities to compromise researcher safety, I knew it was important to have an un-chaperoned interview with the prisoners as the presence of the staff could, and probably would, have prevented the prisoners from being as honest and open as they were. Indeed, I feel that if staff had been present then the prisoner interviews would not have taken place at all as they would have refused. Similarly it was important for me to stress to the prisoners that nothing they said during the interview would be fed back to the prison or its representatives in any way, with the simple exception of, if what they told me would contravene the safety and security of the establishment, or the personal safety of any particular individual, staff or prisoner.

As stated earlier the 1st wave of potential participants was intended to be drawn from within the Segregation Unit itself. In order to maintain safety, security, and Segregation Unit integrity (as laid out in policy and procedures), it had been agreed that the interviews would take place in 'Cell 10' within the Segregation Unit. Cell 10 is the observation cell, it is away from the main area and is used for those prisoners who are deemed to be at risk and require extra observation for a variety of reasons: health, or security, or behaviour, or any combination. This cell is also used if a prisoner was to be interviewed by an official without an Officer being present (this is usually a solicitor's interview, as this is carried out in private) but they, obviously, are not being permitted to be in the same room, alone, with the prisoner.

Cell 10 is situated halfway down a corridor with no other cells nearby, it is in the 'quiet area' of the Unit and has CCTV facility for prisoner observation. The small corridor it is situated on is also separated from the rest of the unit by a security gate, so that this cell (and/or its prisoner) has no contact with the rest of the Unit. This is, to all intents and purposes, an ordinary cell – sparse, limited furniture, with an ordinary cell door, except for one immediate difference (and this is what makes it suitable to carry out interviews safely). This cell has a 'cage door/security gate' that could (is) closed once the prisoner is in the cell and the cell door could be locked open. This cage door has, on both sides, a sheet of clear Perspex secured to it. This is to prevent the prisoner reaching through the gate or throwing or spitting phlegm, urine or liquid faeces on the person on the other side (this apparently is a favourite 'trick' of some of the more recalcitrant members of the Seg Unit). There is a small gap at the top and bottom of this gate and this is how people communicated.

Field Note Extract

This security measure was never actually implemented (as there were no agreeable participants who were incumbent within the Segregation Unit at the time of the research). One interview did take place in the Segregation Unit, and that was with a prisoner who 'worked' there, the Wing Cleaner. As such, he was considered to be trustworthy and, as he was not there via adjudication, he was not deemed to be a danger or threat to others or security. This particular interview took place in the prisoner's cell, which was away from the main hub of the Unit, so reducing any unwitting contact (by myself or this particular prisoner) with any of the other residents of the Unit. The Officers had determined that this would be both appropriate and safe, and the cell door was open at all times, though they periodically walked past (presumably to check things were OK). This made for a very conducive environment for the interview as the participant felt more relaxed and at ease.

I hope the above section has given the reader a feel for the type of participant that I was, potentially and actually (for while the prisoner remained the same, the only thing that changed for these participants was the environment and, therefore, their level of immediate risk) coming into contact with.

During the (ultimately successful) 3rd wave of recruitment, it was the prisoner's level of risk that determined (or perhaps guaranteed) the location and consequential privacy for the interviews to be carried out. Prior to coming to the interview every prisoner had their risk level assessed by the wing staff (as it was before they left the wing for any reason) and it was this that allowed all the interviews to: (a) take place in the Healthcare Centre, (b) happen without a Prison Officer chaperone (as previously mentioned) and, (c) take place at all. An example of this effective risk assessment is shown in Chapter 1 when relaying the Trials and Tribulations of Prison Research, with specific reference to the 'hostage' incident.

The remaining interviews took place in the Prison Healthcare Centre. Once the prisoner was brought down from their wing I would be informed of this and placed in a room. I have used an empty office, a physiotherapy treatment room, the Mental Health Team office. Whatever the room used, and however appropriate and conducive to an interview it actually was (or was not, thinking particularly of the Physiotherapy Treatment room), I was always afforded the courtesy of privacy and we were (unless absolutely necessary) never disturbed. On the rare occasions we were, it was polite, apologetic and respectful towards both the prisoner and I. I maintain that this degree of trust being placed in both myself and the prisoner was as a consequence of being able to utilise my knowledge and experiences in and with such settings and with a group such as these prisoners in a positive and beneficial manner.

This is a tangible example, and demonstration, of getting the right voice (Holloway & Jefferson, 2005). Yet this caused potential conflict for me, in that I had to suppress (at least openly) a major element of my experiential and knowledge development, the single fact that I am a qualified Psychiatric Nurse. This in itself alone could have been detrimental to the research, and potentially to my personal safety. To effectively engage with the prisoners, and at appropriate times and places the staff, I found it necessary to contextually 'divorce' myself from (indeed not even

acknowledge, if it was, somehow, mentioned) the fact that I am a qualified Psychiatric Nurse. This is despite its influence on the research process, and the interpersonal skills I took into the interview, and thus become 'merely' a researcher for fear that the participants felt that some form of covert psychiatric testing was being carried out, and they were about to be 'nuttled off'. The Governors also felt it was important that this information be kept hidden, and it was felt to be justified as there was no reason why the participants should know this information, and it would be of no benefit to them should they discover this fact. None disclosure would not have an effect on the researcher-participant relationship, while disclosure could very probably prejudice, and possibly jeopardise, the research, and not allow for an effective and productive research relationship. Having said that my nursing background was integral to the development of this research so could not be ignored. This did not result in a reduction in quality of the conversations, for my Psychiatric Nursing interpersonal skills allowed for interviews which had an undercurrent of meaningful engagement, and allowed for them to reflect a co-constructive approach. An obvious case of using the right identity that allowed for the adoption of the right voice (Holloway & Jefferson, 2005).

Data Management

The first aim of qualitative data analysis was to reduce the large volume of text data into manageable units. This process is sometimes described as data reduction, data preparation or data management (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). This study generated approximately 25 pages of text from each interview and documentary transcriptions, which, when multiplied by the total number of interviews, resulted in hundreds of pages of data (an example section of an interview transcript can be found in Appendix 4). To manage this large volume of data a systematic and systemic approach to management and analysis was required to prepare the data for coding, and ultimate synthesis. Analysis was carried out by hand in favour of using dedicated, qualitative analysis, software, such as

NUD*IST[®] or NVIVO[®]. I decided early in this research that the use of such software was not going to occur for a number of reasons. One was that learning how to use either programme efficiently would be time consuming, and thus detract from the job in hand. Another, and probably the main, reason was that (having seen a colleague demonstrate one of these packages) I came to the conclusion that I could gain greater conceptual and theoretical depth and understanding, work harder with the data, and thus making the data work harder for me, if I performed the same functions by hand.

Data Analysis

The following section describes the process of examining, coding, categorising, and then interpreting, data from the interviews, field notes and diary and analysis occurred concurrently with data collection. Interviews were conducted approximately (though not always) one to two months apart, allowing, where temporally possible, for analysis to take place before subsequent interviews were completed. Thus, analysis began shortly after the first interview was completed. As analysis progressed, a non linear process was engaged with as data was analysed, utilised in subsequently interviews and then re-analysed; a form of feedback loop was used.

The terminology used throughout this process differs, to some extent, across authors, and approaches to grounded theory, and thus is fluid depending upon who you are reading at the time. For example, while I use the term Open Coding, mirroring both Glaser & Strauss (1967) and Corbin & Strauss (2008) the term Focused Coding is preferred by Charmaz (2006) to describe this particular action of analytical coding/categorising. This fluidity of labels is also evident in the labels attached to the actual construction stages of the substantive theory. Also, where I talk about, and utilise, the term Axial Code(s) (Glaser and Strauss,

1967; Charmaz, 2006) Charmaz also uses the term Substantive Codes to discuss this constructive stage.

The point being made here is that the actual term being used is of no major importance, be it Axial or Substantive, Open or Focussed, where or who it is derived from, and how it is conceptualised in the analytical process. The important thing is the coherent and consistent use of the chosen term and that the term(s) allow, and support, the fit of the creation of the substantive theory. Also that they fit with and into the substantive areas of the construction of the coherent substantive theory.

Open Coding: Getting Started

Coding involves analysis and sorting of data and is the first step in theory development (Charmaz, 2000) with categories being the outcome. Text was examined closely, either line by line, or using whole paragraphs. Data from the interview transcripts was then coded. Open coding was the first stage of analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and involved “breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising, and categorising data” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p61) and identifying categories or codes was the primary task during this stage (Dey, 1999).

The unit of text coded initially were combinations of single lines, sentences, phrases and paragraphs. Line by line analysis was used initially to interrogate the data (Glaser, 1978). However, it was necessary to progress from this close, detailed, examination of the data to a paragraph by paragraph approach, thus a coarser analysis of phrases or paragraphs (Dey, 1999), occurred. It is also generally considered necessary to ask questions of the data while coding (theoretical memoing), as this opens up the data and enables the researcher to consider the “conditions, consequences and associated interactions and strategies” (Strauss, 1987, p154) of each category.

Not all text was meaningful therefore not all text was coded. The most interesting, and meaningful, phrases were identified, 'pasted together' into one file, and assigned a label, a tag (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996) or category. Thus coding was the process and categories were the outcome. Coding was a time consuming but necessary first step in analysis. However, this became a cyclical process, the feedback loop as mentioned above, as data was revisited, and coding expanded upon, through the further theoretical development of categories.

Memoing was conducted concurrently to help me record my thinking processes and conceptual development, and involved expanding on emerging conceptual thoughts and ideas that occurred during the coding process. During coding researchers are encouraged to keep detailed notes of ideas and decisions and to write theoretical memos as records of the process. These included questions (thoughts, worries, and doubts) about methodological issues which were to be raised with my Director of Studies later. Glaser (1978) stated clearly that:

"...the bedrock of theory generation, its true product is the writing of theoretical memos. If the analyst skips this stage by going directly from coding to sorting or to writing – he is not doing grounded theory" (p83).

Categories

The construction of categories from data, rather than from a preconceived logically deduced hypothesis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987) is one of the defining components of grounded theory. For Charmaz (2006), categories "coalesce as we interpret the collected data" (p3) but also have the characteristic of becoming more theoretical as a consequence of engaging in successive levels of analysis. While Corbin & Strauss (2008) suggest that categories are: "... higher level concepts under which analysts group lower level concepts according to shared properties. Categories are sometimes referred to as themes. They represent relevant phenomena and enable the analyst to reduce and combine data" (p159).

Grounded theory researchers need to think theoretically and conceptually, looking for relationships between concepts in the data without forcing a theory, preferring to let it emerge, preferring to follow leads that we define in the data, or design another way of collecting data to pursue our initial interests (Charmaz, 2006). Within the constructivist approach we must “try to find what research participants define as real and where their definitions of reality take them. The constructivist approach also fosters our self consciousness about what we attribute to our subjects [...] the research products do not constitute the reality of the respondents reality” (Charmaz, 2000, p523) and that this approach acknowledges the “mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed” (ibid, p510). In essence, Charmaz’s constructivist grounded theory uses the analytical techniques of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1973; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) contextualised in a constructivist perspective, to enable the emergence of knowledge about the “world made real in the minds of its members” (Charmaz, 2006, p523).

Once categories are built, following coding, they are expanded in terms of their given properties and dimensions. Goede & Villiers (2003) defined properties as characteristics that are common to all the concepts in the category. They are the “characteristics of a category, the delineation of which defines and gives it meaning” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p101). On the other hand dimensions show the position of a property along a continuum or range (Goede & Villiers, 2003). Properties and dimensions provide richness to the abstract category.

Constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008) occurs during and after coding and involves going back and forth from one case or transcript to another, from one category to another to search for relationships between concepts. The main purpose of making comparisons is to generate, or build, a dense theory with categories that

are conceptual and abstract, and which have the aforementioned 'properties' and 'dimensions' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006).

The final stage is selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Babchuk, 1997). Selective coding is described as the process by which categories are related to the core category, and thus is a key aspect in the integration of the ultimate grounded theory (Babchuk, 1997). This relates subsidiary categories (in this case axial codes) to the core category and is defined (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) as "the process of selecting the central or core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships and filling in categories that need further refinement and development" (p116). The development of relationships between axial codes and subcategories (Charmaz, 2006) are important as this ensures that the categories are fully integrated and developed into the (grounded/substantive) theory.

In this thesis and study's constructivist grounded theory the process of selective coding resulted in the generation of subcategories (Charmaz, 2006) that are referred to as the sub core categories and these formed a theoretical integration between the axial codes and the core category. This ensured a resultant theory that is specific, contextual, and truly grounded. An example of the relationship between codes, categories, and axial codes, and how they relate conceptually and theoretically to just one sub core category and the core category can be found in Appendix 5. All of these relationships will be discussed further in Chapters 5 & 6: 'The Findings (I & II)'. This relationship demonstrates theoretical fit and the robustness of the overall analysis process.

The core category is the central focus of any grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) around which other categories circle and ultimately converge like planets around a star. It is the central phenomenon or the psychosocial processes by which the participants resolve their main concern, which in this case is creating a space necessary to allow them to achieve survival. The purpose of grounded theory is "to account for a

pattern of behaviour which is relevant and problematic for those involved” (Glaser, 1978, p93). A core category may be a process, a condition, or a consequence, and a storyline is often used to describe relationships between the core category and other concepts.

Theoretical saturation is the term used to indicate that new properties, categories, and relationships have ceased to arise during analysis (Clarke, 2005; Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008) whereas data saturation refers to a phenomenon in the data collection process. Here saturation refers to concepts, not data, and to a point in the study where no further conceptualisation of data is considered necessary (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Dey, 1999). That is, new participants confirm, or add, to the density, or quantity, of the coded data but little to the theory (Murphy, Dingwall, Greatbatch, et al, 1998) but suggest no new concepts or variations. This absence of new concepts signals that data collection is probably complete.

As theoretical saturation was being reached, analysis of the primary and secondary sources progressed. The analysis of these fundamentally different forms of data was fused (within a constructivist framework) to allow for coherent conceptual development. The commonalities amongst the themes arising from the data allowed for the robust construction of the categories, axial codes, sub core categories, and ultimately the core category.

Axial Coding: Linking Categories

Strauss (1987) and Strauss & Corbin (1990, 1998) added an intermediary set of coding procedures called axial coding to relate categories to the subcategories (Charmaz, 2006). As already mentioned these subcategories are referred to in this thesis as sub core categories. Axial coding is defined by Strauss & Corbin (1990) as “a set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between categories” (p96).

Whereas open coding fractures the data into categories, axial coding puts the data back together by making connections between the categories, and sub(core)categories. Axial coding focuses on the conditions that give rise to a category (phenomenon) the context (specific set of properties) in which it is embedded, the action/interactional strategies by which the processes are carried out, and the consequences of the strategies. Strauss (1987) refers to axial coding as building “a dense texture of relationships around the axis of a category” (p64). Thus axial coding follows the development of a major category, although that this may still be in its early stage of development (Charmaz, 2006). The function of axial coding is to sort, synthesise, and organise large amounts of data and reassemble them in new ways after initial coding (Cresswell, 1998).

When developing a grounded theory, the important analytical work lies in creating links through axial coding, not in identifying and labelling categories (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). If open coding involves the fragmentation, deconstruction or decontextualisation (Richards & Richards, 1994; Tesch, 1994; Hill & McGowan, 1999; Charmaz, 2006) of data, with the aim of identifying new categories, then axial coding reconstructs the data again in new ways. This recontextualisation (Richards & Richards, 1994; Tesch, 1994; Hill & McGowan, 1999) makes connections between categories and sub core categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998).

Creating links and relationships between data also involved the process of constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Axial coding involved selecting and fitting alternate models or theories to the data. This meant developing and testing alternative explanations against the data until the best fit was obtained (Morse, 1994). This is challenging work as this is “an active, continuous, and rigorous process of viewing data as a puzzle” (Morse, 1994, p32). The process involved speculation and conjecture, revision and rethinking.

The relationships that developed between categories, and made up the resulting core category, and substantive theory, are intended to be a simple way of “linking diverse and unrelated facts in a useful and pragmatic way” (Morse, 1994, p32). A theory should ideally be parsimonious and make sense to anyone who knows the topic well. As such therefore, it should be the least complex explanation possible (Cutcliffe & Harder, 2009), indeed, the terms parsimony and simplicity are synonymous (Hubbard, 2008). While there are no definitive set criteria by which to determine if a grounded theory is parsimonious, it does need to have a theoretical completeness, a theoretical coverage, as far as the study can take the analyst (Glaser, 2001, 2002). A theory should allow us to “cut through ordinary explanations and understandings and to attend to certain realities and not to others” (Charmaz, 2006, p149). It should be a theory, not a description, it should be abstract, and should contain few well developed conceptually dense and broad categories (Glaser, 2001, 2002).

Sub Core and Core Categories: Building Theory

Selective coding, resulting in sub core categories, refers to a process where only data that relate to the core category are used to explain the evolving theory (Glaser, 1978; Dey, 1999). Such categories are developed, refined, validated, or verified through theoretical sampling (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Dey, 1999; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This phase of analysis involved interpreting the data and building a provisional theory. By this time, categories had been developed, labelled, and related to other categories. Interpretations were made of the processes, strategies, and social interactions (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Text examples and quotes were used to illustrate the provisional theory. The core category was eventually identified and the other categories oriented around it. This process involved proposing, then checking, relationships between the core, and other categories. A story line is ultimately constructed through the core category. For it is the core category story that is the story of how all the categories fit together to make a coherent whole, one that is greater than the sum of its parts, the substantive theory.

Throughout the theory building, and the construction and conceptualisation of the substantive theory, abductive inferential reasoning (Peirce, 1958; Kelle, 2005; Charmaz, 2009; Reichertz, 2010) was utilised. When utilising induction the researcher generalises across a number of cases where a certain result is observed (Kelle, 2005) and infers, as a general rule, that these results can be observed in all cases. Abductive inferencing is intended to help social researchers to be able to make new discoveries in a logically and methodologically ordered way (Reichertz, 2010). It does not deliver new knowledge, nor does it assist in the generation of new theory. It is an attitude towards data and the researcher's own knowledge, data are to be taken seriously and the validity of previously developed knowledge is to be queried (ibid), with the acceptance that it may alter and change through further abductive developments. It is a state of preparedness, for being taken unprepared (ibid) , for it is common sense reasoning (Gordon, Morton & Brooks, 2005).

However, it is a means of inferencing and it is in this means of inferencing (Reichertz, 2010) that we find the quality of abduction. It is a cognitive logic of discovery, a cerebral process, an intellectual act, a mental leap that brings together things which one had never associated with one another (ibid). The researcher's creativity is, however, limited by certain constraints and methodological rules (Kelle, 2005). Firstly, originality is limited by the facts which must be explained. Secondly, an abductive inference must not only lead to a satisfactory explanation of the observed facts, but it must also be related to the previous knowledge of the researcher. It is for that reason that abductions do not lead to the creation of new knowledge, instead, every new insight combines "something old and something hitherto unknown" (Peirce, 1958, p536). Abduction becomes an innovative process by modifying and combining previous knowledge, "it is the idea of putting together what we had never before dreamed of putting together which flashes the new suggestions before our contemplation" (ibid, p182).

Abduction underlies the iterative process of moving back and forth between data and conceptualisation that characterises grounded theory (Charmaz, 2009) and so grounded theorists utilise this iterative logic of abduction to check and refine their development of categories. Within this study, this is evidenced by the iterative, and thus frequent, way the categorical labels (categories, axial codes, sub core categories, and core category) and overall substantive theory structure changed and developed throughout the process of building the theory. So much so, that this was still occurring at the final writing of this thesis. This demonstrates that this process of theory building was influenced by abductive reasoning (Charmaz, 2009) as continued to offer a way of conceptualising and working with data that guided my efforts to develop “creative interpretations of studied life” (ibid, p138). Thus abductive reasoning acknowledges (ibid) both the pragmatic emphasis on a researcher’s creative conceptualisations and the significance of their experience(s) in formulating them (Peirce, 1958). An abductively discovered order therefore, is not a (pure) reflection of reality (Reichertz, 2010), nor does it reduce reality to its most important components. Instead, the orders obtained are “mental constructs” (ibid, para24) with which one can live with more or less comfortably. In brief, abductive inference entails considering all possible theoretical explanations of the data (as with the aforementioned iterative theory building) forming hypotheses for each possible explanation, checking them empirically by examining data, and pursuing the most plausible explanation (Charmaz, 2006).

Theory Evaluation

As we already know, one goal of a grounded theory is to discover the participant’s main concern, and how they continually try to resolve it. The results (the substantive theory) are not a mere reporting of facts but a set of probability statements about the relationship between concepts (Glaser, 1998). The important question is the usefulness of the theory that has been generated (Baker, Wuest & Stern, 1992). To be credible, the theory

must be well integrated, easy to understand, relevant to the empirical worlds, and must explain the major variation in the phenomenon studied (Stern & Pyles, 1986). Concepts generated by grounded theory have instant grab. They can instantly sensitise people, rightly or wrongly, to seeing a pattern in an event or happening that makes them “feel they understand with ‘know how’”. In a word, the person feels like he or she can explain what they see” (Glaser, 2002, p16). While validity, in its traditional sense, is not an issue in grounded theory, establishing the credibility of any grounded theory is, and this has been well discussed by the literature (Cutcliffe, 2005). In order for a grounded theory to have practical applications, whether substantive or formal, it needs to have four inter-related properties (Glaser & Strauss, 1967):

~ ‘fit(ness)’: how closely concepts fit with the incidents they are representing. This is related to how thoroughly the constant comparison of incidents to concepts was performed. The theory must also closely fit the substantive area in which it will be used. It also means that the categories that are generated must be indicated by the data and applied readily to that data (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986);

~ ‘relevance’ (grab): A relevant study deals with the real concern of participants. It evokes conceptual grab (through a conceptual theory) and is not only of academic interest for it must capture the attention of the reader;

~ ‘understanding’ (Glaser changed ‘understanding’ to ‘workability’ in 1992): the theory must be readily understandable by people concerned with this area, and it works when it explains how the problem is being solved. It should be able to explain what happened, predict what will happen, and interpret what is happening (Glaser, 1978);

~ ‘modifiability’: A modifiable theory can be altered when new relevant data is compared to existing data.

Cutcliffe (2005) also cites two other properties:

~ 'generality': the theory must be sufficiently general to be applicable to a multitude of diverse daily situations within the substantive area, not to just a specific type of situations, though this could be included within 'relevance'.

~ 'control': the theory must allow the user partial control over the structure and process of daily situations as they change through time (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

In the context of this Doctoral study, fit was necessary to determine whether or not the resultant grounded theory was well constructed (Glaser, 1978, 1992, 2001). A conceptual fit helped prevent me, as researcher, from "infusing" (Pettinato, 2008, p632) preconceived ideas into the emerging theory. Evidence of this fit is provided throughout this thesis by the wide range of varied supporting quotations from various interviewees.

Grab (Glaser, 1978, 1992, 2001) infers that the theory describes the phenomenon in an interesting and understandable way. While I utilised the constant comparative method of analysis, taking the emerging categories back to the participants for "member checking" (Charmaz, 2006, p111) was impossible due to the unique nature of the research site. The categories, and their development, were discussed within my Supervision Team on a regular basis. It was clearly evident that the categorical development, and ultimately the substantive theory that emerged, came only from the data collected and not from any of my potential preconceived notions. It is also evident that this thesis has grab not only for the prisoners concerned, or the (Segregation Unit) Prison Officers, but also to others in similar environmental situations. It is also of interest to any person who has an academic and/or personal, or professional interest in power, power structures, survival, and survival strategies, as well as oppressive regimes, and penology, and a range of other associated topics.

The grounded theory not only works in that it captures the phenomenon that is explained by the participants, but it is also able to predict what would happen (Glaser, 1992) with similar prisoners in similar circumstances. The resultant grounded theory of reframing contextual power is also modifiable by which it is also measured (Glaser, 1978, 1992).

In addition to evaluating this grounded theory in terms of how it fits, grabs, and works a final mode of evaluating rigour is to assess its transferability (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This applies to a theory that can be described as dense, or thick. A theory that is dense, thick, and that works, is able to capture the phenomenon that is explained by many, if not all, of the participants. I feel that the grounded theory produced in this study, and explicated in this thesis, successfully meets such criteria.

Finally, we are reminded that a grounded theory is never right or wrong, it just has more, or less, fit, relevance, workability, and modifiability (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978, 1998).

Ethical Issues

Liamputtong (2007) advises that conducting research on vulnerable people (as is the case of the sample group in this research) raises numerous ethical issues, and these require careful consideration, forming an ethical research strategy is as much art as science, and figures in personally sensitive research of any kind (Kong, Mahoney & Plummer, 2002).

This study was designed and carried out firmly following the principles of beneficence, non-maleficence, confidentiality, and clear moral lines. As the participants were drawn from a vulnerable group, their protection, and anonymity was (and has to be) maintained at all times.

Ethical Approval

Ethical approval for this study was granted by both the University of Teesside and Her Majesty's Prison Service. Letters of confirmation can be found in Appendix 2. This process was time consuming but essential and assisted the development of the research prior to its implementation. For example, the main thrust of the University Ethics Committee comments (initially within the School, then to the larger University wide Committee) was around researcher safety. They sought clarity of how I had planned to maintain my own safety whilst carrying out the interviews with the participants, especially if they were to be performed in The Segregation Unit (as initially planned). This was an issue that, initially, I had simply taken for granted, as I knew safety measures would occur, especially as these had been discussed previously with the respective Governors and Principal Officers within the prison. However, despite my automatic acceptance of these safety features being in place I had to show the University Ethics Committee that, not only had I considered and addressed this, but the prison itself was being proactive in this matter, rather than my accepting this as taken for granted. They obviously held my safety to be as much of a priority to them, as the safety, and ethical protection of the participants was to me. Due to the nature of the study, and particularly the setting, and the range of potential (and actual) access issues, there was some discussion (with the University Ethics Committee) around the sample size. This concern regarding to the sample size was due to the fact that if the sample size was small and the methodology was not robust, it would have been unfair to ask just a few people to take part, as this is an intrusion without any gain. This was (and is) a unique study (site and sample group) for my particular School, for they had little understanding of the vagaries, requirements, and specialness of the Prison Service and/or prisons in general.

Approval from Her Majesty's Prison Service was supported by the (required) clarity regarding personal safety, the use of 'Cell 10' to carry out the interviews.

Informed Consent

Informed consent is defined as “the provision of information to participants, about the purpose of the research, its procedures, potential risks, benefits, and alternatives, so that the individual understands this information and can make a voluntary decision whether to enrol and continue to participate” (Emanuel, Wendler & Grady, 2000, p2703). However, Emanuel, et al’s (2000) notion of voluntary raises the issue of whether there is actually any such thing as true informed consent. Wherever possible, participation should be based upon “freely volunteered informed consent” (Corti, Day & Backhouse, 2000, para6) without any element of “inauthenticity” in their consent decision making (Etchells, Sharpe, Dykeman, Meslin & Singer, cited in Roberts, 2002, p709). There are many factors that may make a (potential) participant more, or less, likely to take part in research, and thus tender their “voluntary decision” (Corti, et al, 2000, para6; Emanuel, et al, 2000, p2703) for taking part. These may be social, personal, a genuine (or perceived) understanding of, or interest in, the research or, (as was possibly the case with some of this sample, as already alluded to) possibly diversionary. It is problematic for the researcher to know that the consent they have received is truly informed, voluntary, and not “compromised or coerced” (Etchells, et al, cited in Roberts, 2002, p709). This is especially so, with rare and vulnerable participant groups such as this sample, especially where, or when, a “prison official serves as a research ‘recruiter’” (Human Subjects Research Program, 2000, cited in Roberts, 2002, p707). Or (again as was the case in this research, as mentioned earlier) prison officials were present at the introduction and canvassing stage, thus, elements of coercion could be construed. Perhaps informed consent should (as was the case with this research) be gained not only at the beginning of sampling, but sought regularly throughout the research process (eg: at the point of interview). Participant’s reasons for giving consent may have changed, and/or they may have simply changed their mind regarding participation. They should, at all times, be aware of their right to refuse to participate, and in some cases, be reminded of their right

to re-negotiate consent (Corti, et al, 2000, para6). Though, researchers must be aware of the fact, that irrespective of whether informed consent was given voluntarily, or as a consequence of some ulterior, personal reason(s), or some feelings of coercion or expectation to participate, participants will always, and only, tell researchers as much, or as little, as they want to.

All the participants in this study were sent, at point of invitation, a Participant Information Sheet (Appendix 3). This contained an overview of who I am, where I was from, and the aims of the study. This was written in a simple, jargon free style, it was essential that the (potential) participants fully understood what was being discussed in the Invitation so that they knew exactly what it meant for them to participate in the study, and by understanding “they have *really* consented to do so” (Warren, 2002; Dickson-Swift, 2005; Sin, 2005). Confidentiality and privacy was essential (Barnard, 2005) and their identities and the (any) information they discussed would not be discussed with any representatives from Her Majesty’s Prison Service. A section detailing this was included, so that the potential participants were aware, from the outset, that confidentiality and privacy was important and would be maintained. This guaranteed that the true identity of the participants would be concealed as is advised with all vulnerable sample groups (Christians, 2005). Also included was information relating to the fact that should the participants wish to opt out of the research (once they had agreed to take part) they could do so without fear of it impacting upon them in any way. The one caveat the Sheet offered regarding information discussed during the interview related to the participant discussing which I could, or would, construe as being of a nature that was threatening towards another prisoner, a Prison Officer or the fabric of the security of either the Segregation Unit or the prison as a whole. It has been shown that research participants may disclose some illegal activities to the researcher during the data collection period (wittingly or otherwise) (Adler, 1990; Lee, 1993; Ferrell & Hamm, 1998; Melrose, 2002; Volker, 2004). This not only poses a danger to the future continuation of the overall research, it may place the researcher in a

dangerous situation as well. I had clearly stated in the Information Sheet (Invitation to Participate) that should I feel that such material had been discussed I would be compelled to raise my concerns, and the subject matter, with the relevant authorities. Finally the Information Sheet, having detailed my responsibilities within the research process, stated my expectations of the participant once they engage with the research, namely that they accepted that the interview would be recorded, and all I expected from them was openness and honesty.

Once the prisoner (potential participant) had read this invitation he was then requested to complete the Participant Agreement Form (Appendix 3) and to return this to 'Peter' who would then inform me of a potential participant, potential for they could still decline to participate. Indeed they could decline even up to walking up to the room or even at any point throughout the interview. Thankfully nobody did any of these.

Upon entering the room for the interview the participant was welcomed, they were reminded of the aims of the research and of the fact that they had agreed to take part in the research of their own accord and with no coercion (explicit or implicit) from any party(ies). They were also reminded of all the 'conditions and caveats' enclosed in the Participant Information Sheet and asked to sign the Participant Informed Consent (Appendix 3) which recapped the salient points of the Participant Information Sheet. Once signed the interview could, and did, commence.

Chapter 5

Findings: I

Core Category

'Reframing Contextual Power'

"I must create a system, or be enslaved by another man's".
(William Blake)

*"in that space in between
there is silence
more than anything else
silence ... and space".*
(Sabatini, 2000, p79)

Introduction

The aim of this research was to develop a substantive theory of how prisoners gave meaning to their segregated environment experience. Using constructivist grounded theory, as already detailed in the preceding chapters, *Reframing Contextual Power* emerged as the core category. This chapter offers an overview of the whole theory, including a graphical representation, of the conceptual connections within this core category, the core issues of how the prisoners reframe contextual power.

The chapter starts with a discussion around the main concern of the prisoner in the segregated environment: that being the creation of a space that is necessary for them to achieve survival. Then a brief discussion of the notion of respect within the prisoner culture follows. It is this that (a) influences the prisoners individual reframing approach, and (b) that he enhances as a consequence of successful reframing and ultimate survival of the segregated environment. Reputation, status, social position in the hierarchy is of importance within this closed environment, for how successfully the prisoner achieves his main concern of surviving the segregated environment (or the ordeals of prison life generally) directly

influences the amount of respect (and therefore individual power) they have, or can achieve.

During the development of this substantive theory it became evident that the major interlinking concept throughout this study was Power, specifically, how the prisoners reframed contextual power, and thus its usage. The chapter discusses the core category of Reframing Contextual Power and how its sub core categories underpin, and help to explicate, the core category and the substantive theory.

This is followed by a discussion of space (in relation to surviving and survival), for the prisoner's actions of reframing are in the context of the desire for, and the creation of, a survival space. This space to help them to survive, which, as an emergent concept, is alternative to that traditionally understood within the social sciences or within the limited existing accounts of the segregated environment.

The Main Concern

Imprisonment has a direct social, and emotional, impact upon prisoners (Crawley, 2007). They may experience anxiety and depression (Aday, 1994; Santos, 1995; Crawley & Sparkes, 2005a, 2005b) which is particularly heightened if this is their first time in prison. This is especially true for prisoners who enter a Category A establishment (possibly for the first time). These high secure establishments bring together a mix of volatile prisoners (Coyle, 2005) and personalities, deemed to be either, dangerous to the security of an establishment, or dangerous to its good order (ibid), as well as housing a large number of long term Category B prisoners. This mix results in a prisoner group who, irrespective of Category or, perceived or actual, dangerousness, are all being subject to Category A security, rules and regulations. Such distressing circumstances (Liebling, Durie, Stiles & Tait, 2005) result in, and are compounded by, "environmental factors such as perceived personal safety, respect,

relationships and fairness, dignity, frustration, clarity, security and order, and family contact” (Liebling, et al, 2005, p220). Responses to such situations, defined as relocation stress, are described, with feelings of catastrophe and disaster (Crawley, 2005a; Crawley & Sparkes, 2005a; 2006) which results in a state of “psychological trauma” (Crawley, 2007, p228), defined as “a blow to the psyche that breaks through one’s defences so suddenly and with such force that one cannot respond effectively” (Erikson, 1985, p110). So it is evident that survival of this environment and regime is essential to the prisoner within the high secure estate and this underpins, fuels, and influences, the prisoner’s main concern, the desire for survival, when in the segregated environment.

Whilst this thesis is focused upon survival within the segregated environment, it is also apparent that survival is an important issue within the wider, high security, prison setting. However, it can be assumed that the (unconscious, or maybe conscious) need, and striving, for survival starts earlier than entering segregation. This was not an element of the data collected, nor a feature of the substantive theory, though it could be assumed that the prisoner’s desire, concern, need to survive commences at the point when they enter the (high secure) prison. That said, it could equally be assumed that, in reality, this begins even earlier than that, potentially at the point of arrest, or when sent to trial, or at sentencing. This could equally, or also, be at any of the transition points: society to police custody, to court, to prison, to the wings, to segregation.

For the prisoners interviewed in this research, the desired outcome, the main concern of their time in the segregated environment is simply to survive, and survive this experience and environment successfully. Hodgkinson & Stewart (1991) state that “survival is not just the difference between living and dying - survival is to do with quality of life. Survival involves progressing from the event, and its aftermath, and transforming the experience” (p2). Here they (ibid) are talking about transforming the responses to the event, the aftermath *after* the event, as a form of debriefing and restoration. This differs in this study as the transformation of

the traumatic event takes place simultaneously as it happens, or in some cases, before it happens, as a pre-emptive survival strategy designed to ensure and improve a prisoner's quality of life (ibid).

Prisoners spoke in terms of the fact that their primary concern, the most important aspect of their time in the segregated environment, was to survive. The effects that segregation has upon the individual prisoner are dependent upon a number of interconnected factors. These include the length of time to be spent (already spent and left to spend) there, through to their strength (mental and personality) to deal with the solitary isolation. But it appears that one of the initial effects of long term isolation to confront the prisoner is that they lose the awareness of the passage of time, "... *I enjoy it ... yeah the time goes so quick ...*" (6/75). Rebellion and retaliation to their enforced (extra) confinement is sometimes perceived as a warranted, and sometimes as a totally unwarranted, effect of segregation as the regime and isolation can, and frequently does, worsen their behaviour, "... *putting people behind their door [Cellular Confinement - SDK] ... they might think a soft option ... punish them properly ... so they don't do it again ... but it doesn't work with everybody does it ... some people it makes them worse ...*" (4/138). It was reported by some prisoners, on a number of occasions during this study, that the most damaging, and immediate, effect of the segregated environment is that of 'stripping' (Goffman, 1961) Where, as a consequence of being placed in the segregated environment, they are not only physically stripped of all their possessions and personal items (and in some cases even their clothes), they are also stripped of their individuality, of their right to make decisions in their lives, and of the one thing they have left to them within prison, their reputation and social status, thus their identity, "... *and the Seg ... that's why I don't want to go down there anymore ... cos once you are in there ... it's like a switch ... you are stripped of everything ... you go in there and you get stripped ... and the macho thing starts ... the intimidation stuff starts ...*" (6/91).

Coming hand in hand with organisational power as it does, control is the rationale for demonstrations of power, “... *while one of the screws rubbed me down thoroughly ...*” (9/9). Routine is the backbone to this segregated environment, it maintains order and control for the staff (as well as giving the prisoners something to measure the passage of time) “... *the second day passed identically to the first, except that there wasn't the excitement of the mass adjudication ... the morning seemed to drag on interminably ...*” (9/73). Routine fulfils a number of purposes, as a demonstration of power, to ensure that the Officers stay in control, producing a de-stimulating environment which (in theory) reduces the opportunity for violent and anti-social behaviour thus, as a way of maintaining peace, “... *I went back and banged my door ... the boredom had been broken by slopping out, but it was hardly an event ... now it was back to more of the same: reading, day dreaming and dozing ...*” (9/42). The peace of routine and calm brings with it a sense of peace and control for the staff, and boredom for the prisoners, “... *the chokey had grown very quiet ... the fellas had stopped talking out their windows and I could hear the measured tread of the night patrol as he went from cell to cell ... a couple of paces, the sharp rattle of the lock and bolt being checked, the grating sound of the spy-hole cover swinging backwards and forwards, the click of the light switch, then more paces ... it had its own rhythm ... if you were lying in your cell awake, you could measure the approach of the bringer of darkness ...*” (9/70). It is through a well developed and structured routine and regime that compliance is demanded. Controlling each individual prisoner's movement is essential to the running of the segregated environment. On the rare occasions a prisoner is out of his cell to move around the environment, he is escorted every step of the way by the team of officers that opened his cell door. This is designed to contain any potential, and actual, acts of violence, or other antisocial behaviour, “... *when they opened your cell there were 3 screws and you think what do they want 3 people ... 3 Officers there for and all the way down the landing to where you go and get your dinner or your breakfast or whatever ... there's a full line of Officers ... and you think well what's that for ...*” (4/90). This reinforces the fact that the prison authorities are in charge and they

can, and will, do anything they want to ensure a safe environment, and that the prisoner *will* comply at all times to the staff's demands. Also, it is the continuation of the dehumanising process and further removal of the person's individuality, "... *you are brought to the Seg ... everybody (emphasised) is strip searched ... right ... er ... you are placed in cell ... here ... on the 1's² they don't have beds it's just a concrete slab and a mattress ...*" (1/72).

This is seen as reducing the prisoner to the lowest common denominator, to somebody who is not even worthy to wear their own clothes, which is yet another strategy by which to control and enforce conformity. All prisoners are dressed alike in prison clothes, unlike on the wings where they are permitted to wear personal clothes, "... *15 years ago you wore prison clothes ... and that was the end of it ... no choices ... now if you went up onto G wing or F wing virtually everyone is wearing their own clothes ... except for going to work or whatever else ... everyone's got ... they may not have designer clothes but they've got some nice ones ... Reebok or something like that ... 15 years ago that would have never happened ...*" (1/142). As they are subject to the same daily regimented routine then it could easily be assumed that it is easy for the staff to treat them all alike, and thus maintain the status quo within the segregated environment. Routine, safety, security, and strict order are the lynch pins around which a safe and secure segregated environment is run, "... *but once they got me ... took all me clothes off me and give me prison clothes, prison this, prison that ... and I was locked in that ... housed in there for 3 days with nothing except 1 book ... me glasses and me GTN spray ... bearing in mind I have heart troubles and I'm diabetic ... I was stuck in that room for 3 days apart from going for a shower and a ½ hours exercise a day ... and that was it ... rest of the time I was banged up ...*" (4/60).

Prisoners also reported that the main mechanisms for ensuring compliance employed by the authorities within the segregated

² The 1's is prison slang for the 1st floor landing within any prisoner building; be it wing or Segregation

environment (its routines, regime and practices), are, what the instruments and methods of control and secrecy, the ability to control whilst maintaining a wall of silence, and keeping the system safe through secrecy and mystery. Some also alluded to the fact that each segregated environment has its own distinctive smell and consequentially a different atmosphere, an ambience that feeds off, yet fuels emotions. This individual and distinctive smell is presumably a reflection of the events and conditions within that particular unit. For example, if there has just been a dirty protest then there would be a smell of faeces and urine, if the Unit has poor ventilation then there would be a smell of people, if it was mealtimes then there would be a smell of food, and so on. There is the belief that you can smell emotions as well, fear, anger, misery, and it is this that was alluded to on a number of occasions, more so than the tangible, everyday, smells. Thus is created the ambience of the environment, *“... there’s different scents to them as well ... they’ve got a different smell and you can smell a laid back Seg ... this one here smells like Wetherby block ... and they’re both laid back ... you go into Hull Seg and it smells horrid ...”* (7/116).

The segregated environment atmosphere (created usually by a combination of the, invariably, antiquated and austere environment and disciplinarian regime) serves to demonstrate the severity of being sent here. It is also a reminder of the fact that this is a place where the Officers hold the power, this is their kingdom. Some of the prisoners spoken to believed that the more oppressive and threatening the environment then the more powerful the Officer group feel they can be, and actually are, and the more control they then practice, *“... the claustrophobia as the gloom of the dungeon-like landing enfolded ... the low ceiling, the dim lighting, shielded by metal grilles and the parallel lines of cells with their vaults arches above ...”* (9/2). Somewhere as (physically) small as these Units is ideal for demonstrating and maintaining power and control, *“... the exercise yard I was in was little more than a large cage, about 24 feet long by 12 wide ... its four walls were constructed of breeze block about eight feet high ... stretched across the top was a wire mesh ... it would have*

been perfect for a chimpanzee ... for a human though, it was too small ... 24 paces completed an entire circuit ... (9/51). The design of segregation units are deliberately austere and oppressive, a reminder of the authority's power and ability to control, *"... the walls and ceilings of the cell were made of metal, and if an inmate beat on them just right, they would reverberate with a resonance that would shake much of the building ..."* (3/2).

For the prisoner who is inexperienced, or new to the segregated environment, the whole experience can be, and frequently is, unknown and therefore a traumatic and damaging event. The damage can be felt on a number of levels, personal and social (physical as well as reputation and respect) and psychological, for the one area that all the prisoners in this study agreed upon was that time in the segregated environment, for those who are not strong enough to cope and survive, can be a quick road to madness, the unwilling and undesired descent into mental illness. For some of the prisoners the fear of the potential consequences of (even the shortest time period in) isolation were always just under the surface, *"... when you first come in ... segregation is ... it's kind of ... its depressing almost ... its ... its ... you're cut off from any contact ... you're proper stressed out and you start proper suffering ... cos you can't ..."* (7/16). The implication is that no matter how many times a prisoner goes into the segregated environment the fear of personality and psychological erosion, and ultimate madness, is always there, always at the back of their mind and occasionally coming to the fore, *"... I was aware of a sinking sensation in my stomach as my mind came to grips with the prospect of 14 days in solitary ..."* (9/23). No matter how experienced a prisoner is in the segregated environment, or how capable he is (or feels he is) of surviving the experience, there is always the fear (and the memories of other people fears and experiences) of the possibility of him not surviving the experience and descending into (clinical) madness.

This said, the prisoners are clearly aware that should they become mentally ill during the segregated experience there are clear routes to seek

appropriate and timely help. These initially, come from inside the prison, with the interventions of the Healthcare Centre Mental Health Team, “... *a member of the mental health team ... I mean the mental health team will know most things about most prisoners ...*” (4/146). They are also aware of the external options for treatment should these become necessary, “... *one of them was waiting to go to either Broadmoor or Rampton ... so obviously he had a mental health problem ...*” (4/30). However, the consequences of being sent to a High Secure Hospital are more of a concern to the prisoner than the actual reason, the mental illness. They were aware that once you were in such an establishment, return to their parent prison was difficult, if not at times, impossible, “... *he might end up in your hands and he’s in your hands permanently ...*” (1/308). This is due to the fact that their Earliest Date of Release (EDR) is suspended whilst in hospital, as they are under the auspices of the statutory Mental Health (2007), and the Mental Capacity (2005) Acts and the mental health system, and not the penal/judicial system. A caveat was offered on this point to the prisoner who, for reasons of his own, decides to fake mental illness with a desire to be transferred to a High Secure Hospital. It could be assumed however, that this would be an example of the aforementioned desire to survive the (perceived, and individual) day to day traumas of life on the wings in a high secure prison, “... *it’s a game ... that’s all it is... but the thing is this is ... to play ... you have to know what you are doing to play the madness card ...*” (1/308-311).

Yet it is behaviours, of which some could be perceived to be mad, that are the very actions that could, and do, save them, as they are utilised to assist in the creation of a survival space. Behaviour derived from his individual repertoire of ‘being mad’, ‘being bad’ or ‘being cool’, maintain an degree of individuality, autonomy, power, and ultimately survival.

The power that helps the prisoner survive this segregated environment ordeal is drawn from being part of a collective demonstration of actions of power. This affects not only the amount of control he can maintain over his life but also his social status and reputation, “... *I’d love ... I would love to*

stay in the Seg and fight ... I'd love to ..." (6/69). Maintaining a sense of independence and not buckling under the pressures of segregation and becoming a mindless unthinking automaton, one who has been beaten by the system, is imperative so that a prisoner keeps this independence, and with it the respect of his peers, *"... I got up and walked unhurriedly to the door ... I was longing to be free of the claustrophobic confines of my cell, but I didn't want to give the screw the satisfaction of seeing my eagerness ..."* (9/50).

Maintaining individuality, and being able to demonstrate it, allows for the increase in the prisoner's reputation and status, not only among their immediate peers but within the wider (local, and to some extent, national) prison community network. To lose social status means losing power and individuality, which is a dangerous thing for a prisoner, especially one who has spent some considerable time building this up to the point where he now has a semblance of power and control over his immediate situation and commands the respect of his peers, *"... I didn't want that to happen to me ... to be mugged off like that could ruin your reputation and make you a laughing stock ..."* (9/80). An example of a way of losing social status and respect is backing down in a confrontation, especially when in the segregated environment, where the prisoner has to demonstrate that he is powerful and in control of himself within the immediate situation. Paradoxically the exception to this, is when their backing down from, or refusal to engage in, confrontation is in the context of, or part of, or a precursor to, their segregation experience survival strategy of being cool. This then is part of a larger repertoire of survival behaviours, rather than just backing down out of fear of the situation or any potential consequences of the situation. If they are not of a high status (not one of 'the lads', one of 'the faces') then it is expected that the prisoner *will* back down as they already have no (or little) respect (nor support) from their peers. Yet if they are in an elevated position within the hierarchy and have earned the respect of their peers then backing down in a confrontational situation is social suicide, *"... If I completely backed down, I could expect*

him to give me a hard time ... whenever I left my cell, he would be at me, chivvying me along and trying to humiliate me ...” (9/82).

The consequences of committing social suicide are detrimental to the prisoner who has established a place for himself in the hierarchy, and backing down in everyday confrontation situations is a guaranteed way to achieve this. Not backing down in a confrontation, however, is also expected of the new arrival into a prison. In fact, confrontation is expected, almost demanded, so that the current prisoners on the wing can see what he amounts to, “... *he’s just come into prison ... he will have a fight within the first month ... whether he wants to or not ... he will have a fight ... and that’s just ‘cos everybody around you wants to size you up ... wants to know what you’re capable of ...*” (7/94-98). The possibility of staying in your cell and avoiding people to prevent it happening, or refusing to fight, or just taking the beating and getting it over with, are not options, you have to fight: and win, “... *cos if you batter him you’re not a threat ... cos they know what you are capable of ... you are now a friend ... if you waste him ... proper cave his skull in ... you’re a friend now ... they can cope with that ... they just can’t cope with not knowing ...*” (7/100). So advice to the newcomer to the prison is, “... *the first day ... walk in ... find somebody you don’t like ... don’t matter if you’re not really bothered about him ... you just don’t like him ... you look at him ... it gives you a dodgy feeling ... walk up with a big stick and beat his skull in ... no one’s ever going to bother you ...*” (7/106).

Losing status, and the respect of one’s peers, is damaging to the prisoner’s social position and this role and privileges are determined by the prisoner hierarchy. But more dangerous to the prisoner, especially in the segregated environment, is the effect that losing status, losing face, losing respect, has to that prisoner’s sense of individuality, and thus his ability to survive the experience. As such, therefore, creating the space to allow for survival equates to the continuation, or even increase in, their social standing.

While a prisoner's social status is not the primary factor for, or in, his survival, it does play a large part in how he survives, or whether he survives at all. This gives him, and demonstrates that he has the determination, and individual power, to survive the segregated environment. Similarly, a prisoner's respect and social standing is also built upon their reputation and potential for, and ability to, survive (as well as fighting back against) the system. Central to this is the prisoner's strength of character and personality. Such strength that has earned him respect amongst his peers and an elevated social status or reputation also gives him the ability, impetus and strength to create the space he requires to survive, So the worse the actual segregation unit (and its reputation) and the more successfully a prisoner survives then the more his reputation and status and social standing increases, "... *apart from being physically foreboding, Parkhurst chokey had a formidable reputation ...*" (9/4).

Incidences of trouble (alleged or actual, accused or founded) placed upon a prisoner's Prison Record will follow them around the service and throughout their current (and any subsequent) spells in prison. This will include incidents, occurrences, and examples of 'being mad', 'being bad, and/or 'being cool'. This record of notoriety appears to have a triple edged effect, (a) to inform all prison staff that here is a trouble causer and someone who should be watched (respected), (b) that other prisoners *could* hold this person in high esteem and see them as local heroes and they subsequently gain and command respect and support from their peers, or, (c) that the prisoner themselves could see that this in some way increases their social status within the prison, and use it as justification for further anti social (though respect creating) behaviour, "... *in 1996, myself and a few others ... we were accused of bullying and intimidating other inmates into not working ... on the lifers wing ... I didn't even know what was happening ... right ... so they took us all down the block ... shipped us out all over the place ... and ... once that happens it's on your report and you have to fight tooth and nail to get it off ...*" (1/96).

Survival, therefore, in this study, is not just about ensuring the prisoner stays physically and mentally alive, it is a complex that incorporates the aforementioned individual, interactive, and social aspects of the prisoner's life, and remaining alive in these arenas is as vitally important as just remaining physically and mentally intact. For the prisoner, attempting to maintain physical and mental intactness, and thus some quality of life, is not something vague and intangible. It requires actions, behaviours (and changes to himself) that are concrete and very real. For these form man's destiny (Frankl, 1984) which are created through his ability to use his space creating power. This unique and individual destiny, and this route travelled to achieve it, cannot be compared "to any other's route, space or destiny" (Ibid, p98). Improvements to the prisoner's quality of life, while using his space creating actions, include the maintenance of his individuality and, importantly, his dignity. For, if the prisoner did not fight to save, and maintain, his dignity, self respect, and autonomy, then he is in danger of losing the feeling of being an individual, a "human being with a mind with inner freedom and personal value" (ibid, p70).

It is an obvious fact that what happens behind prison walls, and within the confines of the segregated environments, will never be known by the majority of the general population (except for what is published in the (primarily) tabloids). Not only is secrecy essential for security purposes, but it is an inherent part of the whole prison, and segregation, culture(s), for secrecy breeds secrecy, breeds mystery and suspicion, But the fact that while the prisoners know that this veil of secrecy exists, and that anything that happens, within the segregated environment confines, can happen (relatively) unchallenged, helps the staff continue to instil an expectation of compliance. It is a fact known to the prisoners that the veil of secrecy prevents the majority of society from knowing what occurs within the prison system, "... *there are people outside who just do not know what happens ... and basically they have absolutely no idea of what happens on the wings they have even less idea of what happens in the Segregation Units ...*" (1/146). However, this veil does not prevent the internal, prisoner, Grapevine from working effectively, with tales and events of daily life, and

contrasting with those released through the official press related channels, getting known throughout the prison and wider prison.

Reframing Contextual Power

Contextual power, as described by the prisoners in this study, is the power they draw upon and reframe. This gives them a degree of autonomy over the immediate situation, and the relationships they encounter within the segregated environment, whatever the context. Such power is utilised to assist them achieve an outcome that is both beneficial to them and desired by them: that being survival.

Figure 5.1³ offers a graphical representation of the substantive theory. It shows the core category of Reframing Contextual Power, and how it is central to all other elements of the theory. The three platforms are the sub core categories of Power Playing, Power Positioning, and Power Posturing. These sub core categories platforms consists of a number of segments, these being the axial codes. The Figure shows how, through the processes of data synthesis, these come together to create the core category of Reframing Contextual Power, and thus the substantive theory.

³ A larger version of this graphical representation of this substantive theory, showing the interplay of and interactions between the core category, sub core categories and axial codes in more detail can be found in Appendix 6

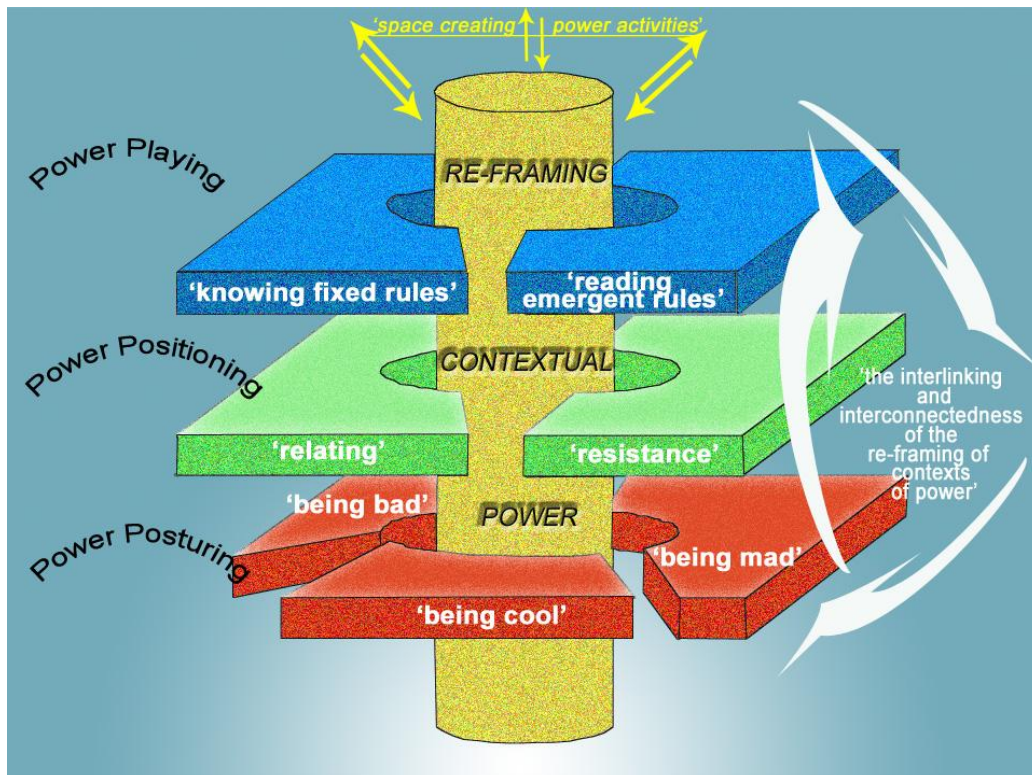


Figure 5:1 - Graphical Representation of Substantive Theory

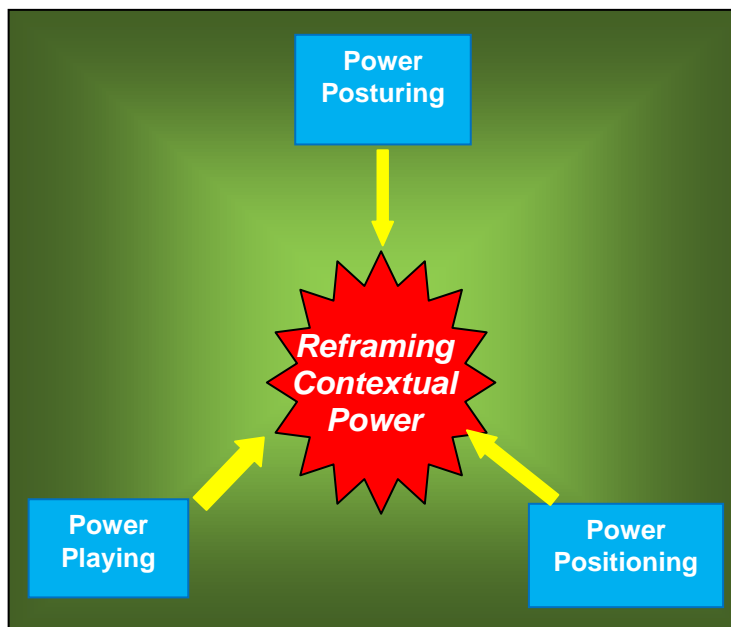


Figure 5:2 - Core Category Reframing Contextual Power and Sub Core Categories

In this study, I have described the three aspects of power behaviour deemed necessary for the prisoners to fulfil their desire, their main concern, of creating a space necessary for achieving survival. This being derived

from the interpretation of the prisoners descriptions of their experiences in the segregated environment. These separate, yet interrelated and

interdependent, actions are defined as the dynamic psychosocial processes of, Power Positioning, Power Playing, and Power Posturing. They include and influence the range of potential actions available and essential to creating the prisoner's much desired survival space, and are intertwined with the acquisition, usage, and demonstration of prisoner power in the segregated environment. By applying one, two, or all (in any combination) of these actions, allows them the opportunity to create a space necessary to allow them to survive the segregation experience.

Lifton (1986) talks about the "creation of a separate functional self which acts contrary to [your] usual [conscience]" (p73). While this current study is not focused upon self as a psychological concept or entity, the essence of this quote is very apt. The survival space that the prisoners strive for serves to allow this triad of behaviours to be realised through the adoption of an alternative, yet temporary, functional self, thus enabling survival. It is these survival actions that are the focus here, and that (as already stated) create the desired survival space. The adoption of these power actions are deemed to be alternative, alternative in the sense that these are time limited and contextual, and removed from the prisoners usual actions or behaviours. Each period in the segregated environment requires a greater, or lesser, emphasis being placed upon the actions, therefore survival, and accordingly the survival space, is different each time it is created, yet the desire for it is never reduced as it is imperative. Through this we can see that the prisoners in this study are describing that the ultimate desire of each occasion in the segregated environment, is to survive each of these experiences through the creation of a 'survival space'. This is intrinsically linked to, and created by, their actions and behaviours performed through this nexus of interrelated power activities.

Through engaging in one of their chosen action(s) of either, Power Playing, Power Posturing, and/or Power Positioning, the prisoners are able to demonstrate autonomy and individuality. It is this complex interplay that allows the prisoner to give definition and substance to their lives, as well as being able to define who they are as individuals, and as potential, and

anticipated survivors of the segregated environment. Having the strength and ability to maintain, utilise, and engage with his power, through the aforementioned three power actions, allows the prisoner to *not* behave in a manner expected of him. By responding in a manner contradictory to the authority's expectations of conformity, through engaging with his survival activities, he is demonstrating that he still has the ability to make choices for himself, and this allows the prisoner to further develop and strengthen the space for survival. He is showing that he is rejecting the application of labels and categories and therefore any consequential behaviour. He is actively rejecting any self fulfilled prophecy and, through his demonstration of power and autonomy, maintaining a sense of autonomy and individuality.

To achieve his desired goal of survival the prisoner needs to strike a balance between the requirements of his own (micro and macro prison and segregated environment) society, and the demands and expectations placed on him by the application of the organisations mechanisms of power. Such mechanisms allow for the supervision and control of prisoners through routine inspection and monitoring of their movements, activities, and interactions, as well as for any and all (potentially and actual) dangerous communications, thus providing a means of differentiating and mapping them (Matthews, 1999). The physical, tangible, visible application of the mechanisms of (organisational) power are validated, and legitimised, through the underpinning (organisational) legislation forming a set of fixed rules. Despite the rigid application of the fixed rules, and the formal relationships adopted by the authority figures to action them, the prisoner is still able to perform actions that resist these. Such actions serve not only to define, but reinforce, who the prisoner is in terms of their social status, but they also remind the prisoner of the lengths/extremes they are required to drive themselves to, to ensure survival in the segregated environment. These behaviours are in direct response to the immediate context and situation they find themselves in, and become a mirror of their own existence. The prisoners who continually resist the fixed rules through acts of subversion and resistance on the

wings, and rebel against the relationships between themselves and the authority figures (seeing it as an arena for constant confrontation) are required to apply more extreme behaviours to achieve survival in the segregated environment than do the prisoners who are passively non-compliant. This is in response to the expectations placed upon them by both the authorities, and the prisoner's peers. The authority's belief is that, as rebel or troublesome prisoner, they are going to be equally troublesome in the segregated environment. The staff expect as a consequence of the prisoner's reputation, status, and wing behaviour, a heightened response to their activities of control. Similarly the prisoner's peers on the wings expect them to behave, rebel (survive) in a way that befits their social status, and therefore all activities of survival are assumed to be in extremis. Therefore the prisoner in the segregated environment is faced with a double edged behavioural expectation. The belief of how they will behave from the staff, and the expectation of how they will behave from their peers. Both of these compound the effects that the segregated environment has upon them, for they directly influence, and are directly influenced by, the response (and actions) of the staff. The emergent rules of the prisoner culture ensure that any/all activities undertaken are understood (in both the context they are performed in, and as part of the prisoner society) and supported (passively or actively) by their peers. This not only reframes the prisoner's own contextual power base (and thus where they are placed in the prisoner hierarchy, based on their earned and acquired respect), but also demonstrates to others just how much power they are able to draw upon and utilise.

The prisoner adopting one of the range of actions or behaviours that comprise the activities necessary for survival (Power Posturing, Power Playing, or Power Positioning) demonstrate either their active resistance or a passive (non confrontational) resistance to the authority's desire and requirement to dominate, control, and gain conformity, while maintaining safety, security, good order and discipline. The prisoner's behaviours, from the mild and passive resistance in the context defined as Being Cool, through to the extremes of the contexts of either Being Mad or Being Bad

demonstrate their disregard for, and desire not to conform to, the authority's fixed rules. It is through the aforementioned tripartite of power actions that the prisoners define who they are, how they are able to survive the segregated environment experience, and what extremes they are prepared to access to ensure the creation of their necessary space, and thus survival. This is the desired outcome of the prisoners in the segregated environment, yet each individual's space, and the actions necessary to achieve this, are as individual as the prisoners themselves.

The prisoners describe a complex of encounters that, whilst requiring constant (re)negotiation, become more or less routinised (Scott, 2001) within which they create their desired space necessary to survive the segregated experience. This (re)negotiation of the interplay between encounters, and survival actions, are dependent upon a range of interpersonal factors within each encounter. For "once negotiated, individual encounters do not usually need to be renegotiated, rather they are subject to the constant transformations of reciprocal expectations that are taken for granted" (ibid, p29). These marginal transformations determine the daily, and even hourly, presentations of survival actions and, thus, impact upon the quality, and extent, of the behaviours (be they Being Mad, Being Bad, or Being Cool) being utilised to create the survival space. This has the result that, once created, the space to achieve survival remains intact, yet regularly (daily, hourly, with every encounter and interaction) requires strengthening and reinforcing through regular contextual reconfiguring. Expanding upon Scott's (2001) notion of transformations of reciprocal expectations, each encounter between staff and prisoner is underpinned by the knowledge (from both parties) that some form of behaviour (to continue their survival and creation of the necessary space) is likely and expected to occur. Whilst this knowledge of expectation is accepted between both parties, each encounter (which is where these behaviours will occur) is transformed at each occurrence. So while there is the knowledge that some power action is going to occur (the reciprocal expectation) it is the specific nature, and severity of the behaviour, that is transformational and unknown. It is the acceptance of

knowing that something is going to happen, but not knowing exactly *what*, as the *what* is transformational, fluid, and dependent upon the nature of the encounter between the staff and prisoner. The depth and breadth of the space fluctuates dependent upon necessity and the threat to ultimate survival. Described as the Interaction Order (Goffman, 1971) these (self) presentations are constructions, and reconstructions, of the prisoner's identities (thus the survival space) and are in response to their immediate environment (the segregated environment), the situations, contexts, and interactions. For it is here that power relations have their effect upon the usage of such individual actions and behaviours.

The prisoner acquires a sense of individuality and autonomy through being able to define and utilise one (or a combination) of the behaviours that create their survival space. This allows them to maintain a sense of who they are as a person, an individual, somebody who can make decisions for themselves, and exercise their own power, even under extreme conditions. This sense of personhood can be analysed "as the performance of status roles and spatial practices in the context of differently structured organisations of space" (Buur, 2003, p4). The reason therefore, for the creation of a survival space is to survive the segregated environment with their personality, reputation and (where possible, some measure of) their sanity intact. While the effects of Being Mad are transient, the effect of clinical madness can be permanent. The power activities and behaviours deemed necessary when creating a space for survival, can have a profound and detrimental effect on the prisoner, and not leave their sanity unscathed. The anti-authoritarian actions necessary conversely mirror Goffman's (1983) celebratory ceremonies. Though whilst not being ceremonies of celebration in the traditional societal sense, these actions do allow the prisoners to "affirm their affiliation and commitment to their collectivities and revive their ultimate beliefs" (ibid, p248). The affiliation and commitment is to the prisoner society and its collective ideals and standards, and the celebrative nature is the celebration of the creation, continual usage, and a strengthening, of the space necessary for achieving survival, and especially the celebration of (continued) survival.

Despite power, in all its forms, being so prevalent, overt (and covert) power, active (and passive) power, and disempowering (and empowering) power, the main concern for the prisoner is to survive this experience and remain intact. While the prisoners in this study never openly (or consciously) verbalised their needs and desires in such theoretical terms as needing to create a space necessary to achieve survival, they did express a desire to get through (survive) their time in the segregated environment, “... *it gets monotonous when you are doing the same thing all the time ...*” (5/105), “... *it’s a mentality ...*” (6/11), “... *and I was a very frightened person ...*” (4/14), “... *to be honest it drives you absolutely nuts ... every time that door opened I just wanted to fight ...*” (6/13). It was through their exploration and defining of their individual survival tactics, their demonstrations of the power actions that, while expressing their fervent wish to survive, they were unknowingly, describing ways of creating a survival space. They understood and discussed the need for survival, and they accepted that a range of tactics and strategies were needed to be employed (though possibly did not understand the connotations of power in this context). They were unaware (or had not conceptualised the idea) that they were striving to resolve their, or even a, main concern by creating (and achieving to varying degrees of success) a space by which to survive. For the ability to “temporarily remove the self from the immediate (segregated) environment is a powerful tool” (Parkes, 2010, p56) for the prisoner. They had/have little need for theories of power (personal or otherwise) the only issue for them was/is how to survive the segregated environment in ways that would protect their physical, social, and moral (Bettelheim, 1961) existence. It is obvious that this is an environment that could, and does, totally change the prisoner’s lives and they had to accept this fact and quickly decide whether, and how, to adjust, and by how much, as this usage of power would create the space they need and ensure survival.

The segregated environment is a place of mental, emotional, social, and physical suffering, which all prisoners experience to varying (greater or

lesser) degrees. No one, but himself, can “relieve himself of his suffering nor suffer in his place” (Frankl, 1984, p99). Each prisoner has a unique segregated environment experience, and the way in which he creates his survival space and bears the burden of suffering associated with this is individual, as no segregated environment experience repeats itself and thus each situation calls for a different response. Each new situation the prisoner experiences, requires him to “shape his own fate by action” (Frankl, 1984, p99) through using his survival activities to create the space necessary for survival, and prevent inner disintegration, as these are the grounds for the shared psychosocial processes of survival. The notion that the prisoner in the segregated environment is powerless is not (or at least only partially) correct. He has, should he choose, the power to utilise his unique method(s) of achieving survival, for Survival is Power: Power is Survival, but not as separate entities, rather as an intertwined and interlinked force.

The prisoner activates his power, the activities and behaviours that allow him to create a survival space and survive, as soon as he makes the conscious decision that he *is* going to survive this experience. He is driven by the knowledge that being in this environment can, and does, produce more radical changes to him, and in a much shorter time than being on the wings. He needs to respond likewise, make changes to himself, so that he quickly starts to create his survival space which is designed to protect him from inner disintegration. The consequences of trying to survive the segregated environment and failing (or even not attempting to survive it in the first instance, and going under) can be catastrophic to the prisoner. One of the first effects they have to contend with is the sense of invisibility. They become invisible as individual human beings to the staff and regime that functions in the segregated environment. But also, due to the locality and (additional) security of the environment, and the fact they are incarcerated within a concealed space, they do not (especially after a protracted time of such incarceration) feature prominently in the communal memory of the wider prison. A form of collective amnesia (Martel, 2006) develops towards the daily realities of the lives and survival of the

prisoners incarcerated there. The end result can range from total compliance and complicity to the regime and authority (which has the added consequence of further social isolation) through to being created into a docile body (Foucault, 1977) or akin to Goffman's (1961) mortified self, or one of Bettelheim's (1961) "moslems", the "walking corpses" (p140). This has the potential for, eventual clinical madness, or even physical death (as opposed to social death and ostracism).

As already stated, the space that is being created is the space that is essential to allow and ensure the prisoner survives the segregated environment experience. Such a space allows him, through the repertoire of potential actions, to protect himself from the demands, stresses, and damage, from both the segregated experience, and the actioning (and reactionary consequences) of such survival actions. Through the creation of a survival space and (ultimately by degrees) surviving the segregated experience, the prisoner is engaged in a complex of individual power dimensions. By enacting these activities, he is giving life to these power outlets, the method that his power takes. It is through the constituent activities of Power Posturing, Power Positioning, and Power Playing, that he is maintaining individuality, autonomy (Bettelheim, 1961) and dignity and hope (Frankl, 1984), the mainstays of his survival. Dostoyevsky (1860) summed this up when he stated that; "No man can live without some goal to aspire towards. If he loses his goal, his hope, the resultant anguish will frequently turn him into a monster ... the goal of all convicts was freedom" (p305).

Space is never "neutral as it establishes social behaviour" (Matthews, 1999, p27). It is this social behaviour that provides the outlet for the prisoner's power, and thus the space is particular, and exclusive, to each person. Through its creation is produced a series of dynamic actions and behaviours that maintain and strengthen the division between the social groups within the segregated environment as well as providing an outlet for their individual power. Division is not only demanded, expected and essential for survival, but it also defines, and continually redefines, the

quality and quantity of the range of power actions used to create the space. Space, “reflects and defines social relations” (ibid, p30) however, the relationships within the segregated environment are based upon, a) an imbalance in power, and b) the use of two differing powers. In this sense it is the power of the powerful to control and discipline, and the power of the perceived powerless to actively resist, in order to strive for empowerment and survival. As the primary power stance is that of the authority, there is a belief and taken for granted acceptance that prisoners will behave in certain ways in response to, and within the parameters of, the application of the authority’s power. This belief is borne from the individual prisoners’ reputation in the wider prison society. If the prisoner responds to these, and behaves in a manner expected of him, then he is entering a relationship that is dictated to him, one where he has failed to create an effective and dynamic survival space.

A number of authors have discussed the creation and usage of space as a protective strategy. For example, Bettelheim (1961), (and this is echoed to a large extent by Frankl, 1984), talk about creating a space internal to the individual in order to survive the concentration camps. This survival space, rather than being the end product of external behaviours was as a consequence of internal focussing, and thus protection, “to survive, not as a shadow of the SS, but as a man, one had to find some life experience that mattered” (Bettelheim, 1961, p137). In this sense, protection of the inner self was as imperative in the concentration camps as it was for the prisoners in this study, though Bettelheim and his comrades were powerless to resist or rebel against the authorities, or act out any of the power possibilities open to prisoners in the segregated environment, for doing so resulted in certain and instant death. So survival, for them, was done through maintaining (in an inwardly protected manner) their old selves and through ensuring they maintained (within a protective, internal, psychological, space) “their old selves unchanged” (ibid, p23) as, by achieving this, they “had a lot better chance of survival” (ibid).

Goffman (1997) talks about Personal Space and discusses the social spaces created between individuals through which they engage in, or protect themselves from, interactions. Such social distancing serves, in the relevant situation, to protect the individual from unwanted advances or activities. So, in this sense, the survival space is the distance created by the requirements of both the interaction taking place, and the individual involved, and therefore is flexible in nature dependent upon the situation, context, and its requirements.

Pile (1997) talks about creating a space for survival, a physical distance, and it is within this space that individuals engage in activities that, in themselves, create a space that will protect them. He (ibid) does not just discuss activities that are at the extremes of behaviour, but nonetheless they all serve as a form of protection for the individual, again, dependent upon the context. This is similar to Goffman's, personal space and social distancing. However, in the context of this study the distance, the space, is created by behaviours necessary for survival, rather than behaviours of social interaction.

Martel (2006) describes how "ordinary life flies into pieces" (p587) in segregation, "arbitrary timeframes and fluid and frugal" (ibid) spaces create a loss of power on the sense of time and space held by both the individual, as well as the wider social collective they came from. This leads to the individual in segregation being held on the margin of the collective memory. But it also leads to the prisoners using a range of "resistance strategies to negotiate personally suitable identities" (ibid). She goes on to describe how prisoners, in an attempt to create an identity space gather around them objects of personal meaning, significance, and power. Yet when they are in segregation such personal items are removed so their "private character" (ibid, p602) is stripped away. In order to adapt to these new living conditions, the prisoners in Martel's study reconceptualise themselves through either a belittling, or hardening, of themselves to maintain decency and humanity. Martel concludes her paper by saying that "notions of time and space are intimately

connected to the construction (or preservation) of identity” (ibid, p609) for the prisoners. This is “weaved into the notion of resistance against conditions that erode personal identity and perceptions of self and also into the notion of individual and collective memory” (ibid). This discussion of life in the segregated environment, and how the prisoners were “refashioning themselves” (ibid) as a consequence of the effects of space (and time), while having a different focus, is reassuringly similar to this thesis. Similar, yet sufficiently (and obviously) different, these 2 studies complement each other as they both explore life in the segregated environment from the prisoner’s perspective, as well as each discussing an perception of space.

Martel (2006) discusses how the prisoners in her study utilise space (and time) to enable their survival within the segregated environment, as do the prisoners in this current study. The difference between the ways the two groups of prisoner’s utilise space lies in the fact that Martel’s prisoners utilise existing spatio-temporal factors of segregation to enable their survival. They manipulate and shape (time and) space to allow them to maintain a sense of their own individuality, their “personal identity and perceptions of self and also notions of individual and collective memory” (Martel, 2006, p609).

Whereas, in this study the space created to allow for survival is the end product of the prisoner reframing, and utilising his contextual actions of power. It is through such activities of survival, Power Positioning, Power Posturing, and Power Playing, that the space for survival is created by these activities. These create and protect the space necessary to allow the prisoner to achieve survival. These space creating power activities are designed to protect the individual from any permanent (physical or psychological) damage, inner disintegration, or descent into clinical madness. The actual space created is, obviously, not a physical, tangible entity, nor a physical distancing of the prisoner from his environment (though this is one of the potential effects of the space created). It is protected by the alternative presentations and behaviours that a prisoner

is required to adopt in order that they preserve their fundamental identity. The space necessary for survival, the space created and protected by the dynamic, interactive, proactive and reactive power actions and behaviours, is not an empty void. It is comprised of, and contains, the essence of survival, dignity, autonomy, individuality, self respect, empowerment, hope, the ability to resist, pride, and desire (for survival and sanity). all of which are necessary to protect, and are protected within its own protective casing of, the power space creating activities. The stronger, and more intense/extreme these behaviours are, the greater the space, and the better it is protected by these behaviours. The more protected the space is by the behaviours, the more protected from inner disintegration is the prisoners fundamental, inner, self and the greater the chances of survival. This is a space which, once created (and supported and reinforced by ongoing survival activities) shields and protects the prisoner from the effects of the segregated environment, the regime, the coercive nature of the routine and personnel, the overt (and covert) power, the surveillance, and the authorities' desire for conformity and compliance - ergo: control. And so the prisoner's desire, their ultimate goal, is created, the space necessary to achieve survival in the segregated experience, and it is this, the combination of the protective power actions and behaviours and the essences of survival, that ensures that the survival space has a power of its own, and there is, therefore, a sense of freedom in it.

The next chapter takes this core category and expands (explodes) its theoretical constitution to show its development through the categories, to the axial codes, culminating in the sub core categories, as they influenced the creation of the core category, and will continue to demonstrate how this substantive theory is firmly grounded in the data it was derived from.

Chapter 6

Findings: II

Sub Core Categories, Axial Codes and Categories

“The important thing in science is not so much to obtain new facts as to discover new ways of thinking about them”.

(Sir William Bragg, 1862-1942)

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to further illustrate the development of the core category, and the ultimate construction of the substantive theory, and will demonstrate the interlinking and integration of the data throughout the process of synthesising the data. Figure 6:1 shows the interlinking of the categories, axial codes, and sub core categories through to the core category.

Table 6:1 - Data Synthesis

CORE CATEGORY	SUB-CORE CATEGORIES	AXIAL CODES	CATEGORIES
REFRAMING CONTEXTUAL POWER	Power Playing	Knowing Fixed Rules	Rules
			Organisational Power
		Reading Emergent Rules	Prisoner Society
	Power Positioning	Resistance	Aggressive Behaviours
			Micro-Power Relationships
		Relating	
	Power Posturing	Being Bad	Treatment in Segregation Outcomes
		Being Mad	Madness Effects of Segregation
		Being Cool	Status False Compliance Personal Power

In this chapter the sub core categories will be discussed using the data to illustrate, and demonstrate, the theoretical formation of their constituent axial codes and categories. Theoretical and contextual illustrations are drawn directly from the prisoner's interviews to show how this substantive theory is firmly grounded in the data. Each explication of the sub core categories will demonstrate the theoretical, conceptual and contextual refinement of the data as the process of developing the substantive theory progressed.

Power Playing:

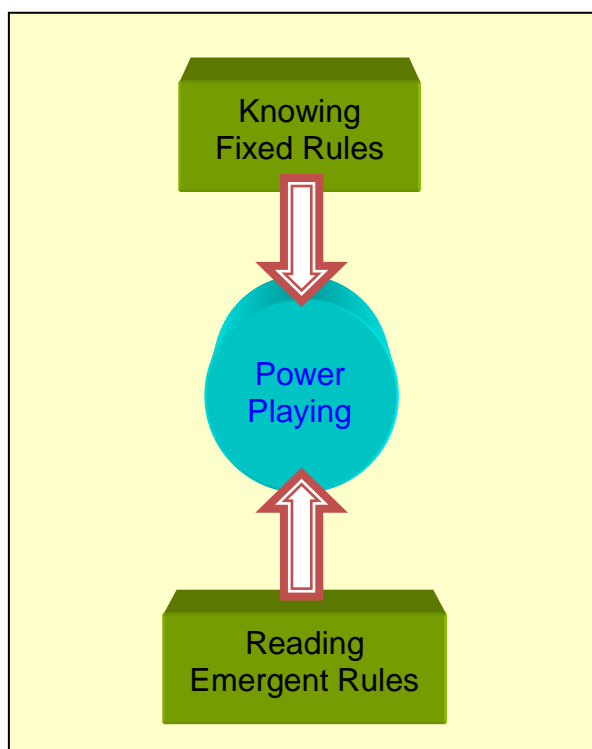


Figure 6:1 - Sub Core Category Power Playing and Axial Codes

Whenever events are to be played out, two things are required: a venue, in this case the segregated environment, and a set of guidelines or rules. In this context, the rules come in two variants. Firstly, there are the formal, fixed rules dictated by the organisation which are prescriptive and, until revoked, binding. These are written as organisational rules, policies

and procedures for actualising and achieving the effective

functioning of working and living in this environment (Carling, 2005). These are the “embedded and specific practices and nuances according to particular concrete situations and interactional processes of each encounter” (Kalinich & Pitcher, 1984, cited in Crawley, 2004, p84). There

are also the informal rules of the job that are neither clear cut nor articulated (Crawley, 2004). These are “‘craft rules’ as well as the ‘feeling rules’ of the organisation (ibid, p89). Secondly, there are the unwritten, or emergent, rules that are used by the prisoners to underpin their time, actions and interactions. As a consequence these impact upon their survival in the segregated environment. Straddling the two notions of emergent and fixed rules are the prisoner’s Code of Conduct and Ethics (Crewe, 2007). Through this straddling, the Code is both more nuanced and situational in its’ contextual application of its regulatory mandates, and as such it functions as both emergent and fixed rules for the prisoners.

Power playing provides the prisoners with a framework from which to enact their survival activities. This framework dictates and regulates their behaviours, and provides the ethical and cultural parameters that these are demonstrated within, and through. They enact their activities of survival within the segregated environment within (or against) closely defined, and monitored systems of regulation. The power play(ing) that ensues is the balancing of the requirements of the prisoner’s emergent rules with the dictates of the organisations fixed rules, while engaging in, and utilising, their power behaviours of survival. The way the balance swings is a reflection of the prisoner’s response to the segregated environment, and whether they choose to comply with the fixed rules and conform to the authority’s requests and expectations of them not being confrontational nor resistive whilst in the segregated environment. Or whether they chose to follow the guidance and requirements of their emergent rules, and engage in behaviours and activities that will help them survive.

The power play therefore underpins and informs the activities the prisoner utilises in getting the balance right between knowing the fixed rules and reading the emergent rules, to ensure that behaviours of survival occur effectively and with the desired outcome. This balancing is difficult enough on the wings when the prisoner has the support of his peers, but it is all the more difficult in the segregated environment. Within this environment

he is, to all intents and purposes, on his own needing to make his choices independent of support and advice. The ordeal of this individual endeavour is compounded as it is played out within a regime of heightened security and increased control.

The segregated environment is the physical enactment of the practices of passive and dynamic security (Snacken, 2005). A major distinction is made between *passive security*, resulting from the architecture, electronic devices etc, and the *dynamic security* of high quality staff-prisoner contacts, relationships and communications, without which passive security cannot succeed (Marshall, 1997) This is carried out under the auspices of the distinctions between security and custody, and between control and order⁴ (Snacken, 2005). If this is the case, then in the wider (prison) society order and discipline are maintained, though it could be argued that this is more at the goodwill of the prisoners rather than any major strategies utilised by the staff. Within the segregated environment good order and discipline is not maintained by any acts of beneficence on the part of the prisoners (as it is invariably acts of malevolence against the organisation, its staff or charges, that are the reasons why they have been sent there) rather it is the controlled and controlling regime and environment that maintains and enforces social order. The continuance of power playing for the prisoner is carried out within an organisational culture that follows a process of retribution and resistance. The segregated environment is designed for the simple purpose of allowing the authorities to administer retribution on the disruptive and rebellious members of the prisoner community. This is an example of the retributivist principle (Cavadino & Dignan, 2002) that clearly states that wrongdoers should be punished, because they deserve it (von Hirsch, 1976) and as such is in some ways the complete antithesis of reductivism. Where reductivism is forward looking, retributivism looks backwards, inwards, at the offence. It is the fact that the offender has committed a wrongful act which deserved

⁴ it refers to the basic difference between the aim (custody and order) and *one* of the techniques to achieve that aim (security to achieve custody, control to achieve order) (Snacken, 2005, p308).

punishment, not the future consequences of the punishment that is important to the retributivist. Retributivism claims that it is in some way morally right to return evil for evil, that two wrongs *can*, sometimes, make a right (ibid). It is this attitude and action that the prisoner resists. In the segregated environment acts of resistance are individual (even when more than one person undertake them at the same time, they still remain individual acts) as there is no physical collective, no coming together of forces. But more importantly in this situation and context is the basis of this collective power. This is rooted in the shared set of values (the prisoner code (Crewe, 2007) and its emergent rules) that are generated by a common predicament (referred to as structural solidarity) (Sykes, 1958).

Breaking rules, no matter how minor, when prisoners deliberately engage in actions that are contrary to the rules and procedures of the establishment, is a form of political action, expressed as social banditry (Pearson, 1975). By their very nature, such actions are more likely to attract an explicitly controlling response from the authorities. To enter the segregated environment is invariably as a consequence of a breakdown in the relationships between the two opposing factions, either individually or collectively, a breakdown which is aimed either at an opposing member personally or at the wider organisation they so visibly (by virtue of their uniform and role) represent, or between the prisoners themselves. In any case, the consequences of such relationship breakdowns are invariably the same, segregation.

One of the benefits for the authority of having prisoners spending time in the segregated environment (though not from the prisoners' perspective) is the opportunity for the organisation to utilise persuasive methods for prisoner conformity. Changes that do occur in the prisoners to get them to conform require a change in their attitudes. Any, and all, actions taken by the staff, to perform these mechanisms of control, are done so under the guise of deterrence. While general deterrence might form the basis of a plausible *general justification* [sic] for having a punishment system (Cavadino & Dignan, 2002), it is more difficult to argue that the *amount of*

punishment [sic] imposed by this system is justifiable. Yet power, control, and punishment, are an integral part of such deterrence measures. Bentham (1970) promoted the principle of frugality (or parsimony) which states that punishments should be no more severe than they need to be to produce a utilitarian quantity of deterrence. Overkill causes unnecessary suffering to the prisoner, and all suffering is bad unless it prevents a greater amount of suffering, or brings about a greater quantity of pleasure. Coyle (1997) clearly addresses this fact by reiterating the point that prisons should not be places of “depravity and inhumanity” (p32). In the instances where (real or perceived) inhumane treatment occurs within the prison system, or (as is the focus of this study) the segregated environment, then it might be prudent to think of it as a response to power failure on the part of the prison authorities. It is arguable, and debateable, how much compliance to rules (fixed or emergent) and regimes is gained, or guaranteed, through the use of actions of deterrence, with or without the punishment factor. So whether prisoners are complying with the fixed rules of the segregated environment or the unwritten, emergent rules, as determined by the immediate context of the prisoner society, they do so partly in order to maintain a view of themselves that is consistent, a view of themselves as a survivor of the segregated environment. Compliance with the emergent rules within the segregated environment creates a sense of false compliance to the fixed rules of the organisation. This is different from true compliance, which is total conformity to the organisational rules, in that this is a survival strategy utilised by the prisoner, and whilst it may appear that the prisoner is appearing to comply, there is an underlying structure of defiance and rebellion which creates this false compliance, though more of this later.

Knowing Fixed Rules:

Organisational power is fundamental to the issue of control, and vice versa, yet there is an acceptance by both parties of the explicit & implicit nature of the demonstrations & usage of power. This organisational power is dictated to the prisoner group through the policies, procedures, and

prescriptive fixed rules. Yet conversely (and possibly perversely) both groups, the incarcerated and the incarcerators, have a symbiotic attachment to each other, a positioning within the power playing. Within the context of the segregated environment, this demonstration, and use,

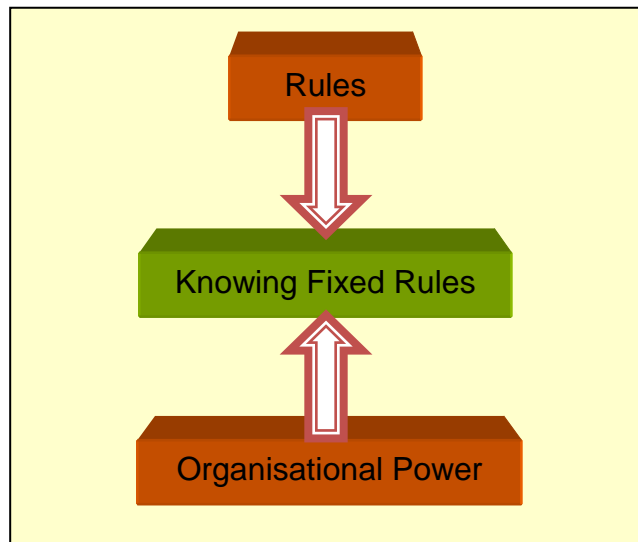


Figure 6:2 - Axial Code Knowing Fixed Rules and Categories

of power starts when a prisoner enters the environment. As the organisation's *raison d'être* is to lock people up, the prisoners are subject to a demonstration of power and control through a stripping process, whereby they are (as per the fixed, non-negotiable, prescriptive rules) stripped of all their (penal) social roles and privileges. Goffman (1961) offers the notion of the Official Self and the Performing Self. Construction of the official self is stage-managed by the performing self which is motivated by the desire for survival. It is also accepted that, in order to guarantee their survival their performing self may differ markedly from their official selves. In the context of this study, therefore, the official self is the pre-segregation persona and behaviours of the prisoner while the performing self is characterised by the activities of survival, the power actions the prisoner adopts and utilises to achieve their main concern of surviving the segregated experience. The strength of the fixed rules is through the application of the mechanisms of organisational power (and ultimately control) which is observed through the deliverance of the tasks which are fundamental to the successful running of the segregated environment. Routine is effective for the maintenance of control and as such there is rarely any deviation it, for deviation could compromise safety and security. For the prisoner who ignores, or rebels against, these fixed rules, the sanctions are clearly prescribed, but, as the majority of prisoners

in the segregated environment have already come in to conflict with the fixed rules they are no stranger to suffering sanctions. Being in segregation is, in itself, the ultimate of sanctions that can be imposed by the prison system. There is little else at the disposal of the Prison Service if they break, or ignore, the rules while in segregation.

As with every total institution, the prison system (especially the segregated environment) functions to the dictates of extreme regimentation. These rules, fixed and written, are designed to ensure the ongoing survival of the organisation and the safety, security, and protection of its charges (both prisoners and staff). There is no negotiation regarding, nor deviation from, these rules and regulations. There are rules regarding every aspect of a prisoner's time in the segregated environment. Such a regimented and authoritarian environment requires these rules to function effectively. It also demands that all the prisoners know these fixed, written, rules and follow them explicitly, to the letter, as deviation from, or rebellion against, them will bring tough sanctions. These rules include how the segregated environment will function on a daily basis, how and what a person does whilst in there, and the range of disciplinary procedures (actions and their consequences) that await the prisoner to fall foul of. Understanding, and coming to terms with, the written, organisational rules is simple, and a prisoner easily adjusts to these as they are the written demonstration, and the utilisation, of the power of the organisation, “... *the longest fixed punishment you could get was 180 days solitary, though in certain riot situations, a couple of these could be run together ... with subversive 43 however, there were instances where men had spent two to three years in solitary ...*” (9/91). Whether prisoner or Officer, your conduct and behaviour are controlled by these rules, regulations, policies and procedures.

These fixed, written rules form the basis of the organisational power base. This is its ability to further punish those already being punished, by virtue of them breaching the fixed rules. Claiming that they were not aware of any individual rules they may have breached is not accepted as an

argument, nor taken into consideration in any way, and *all* prisoners are expected to know the fixed rules. Such punishment, control and reform are enacted through the internal trial and punishment system within the prisons, the adjudication process. The Governor (or one of his deputies) sits in trial of prisoner's, reported, and alleged, misdemeanours and passes some form of sanction, usually in the form of lost privileges, or days added to sentence⁵, or time to be served in Cellular Confinement, or in the Segregation Unit, *"... you'd be on the adjudication ... now whether you told the screw to Fuck Off or not is not the point, the point is ... somebody said you did, so therefore 9 times out of 10 ... you're guilty, you'd get 3 days CC ... 7 days CC ... whatever ..."* (1/26). The actual severity of the sanctions (privileges, or time lost, or to be served) functions as an example of the organisation applying a form of structured punishment schedule to people who have nothing, metaphorically, as well as literally, to lose. As they have very few personal possessions the withdrawal of, or removal from, them has even more impact, *"... well they didn't like me at the time ... some of the screws ... they took me photographs off me ... things like that ... they broke me bars of soap in half looking for blades and that sort of stuff ... petty ..."* (6/19).

The organisational power structure is supported, regulated and deemed impartial by the presence of the Independent Monitoring Board (formerly the Board of Visitors (BoV)). Under Prison Service Order (PSO) 1700 (Her Majesty's Prison Service, 2001) the Independent Monitoring Board are notified within 24 hours of the segregation of any prisoner when a member of the IMB will speak to the prisoner, and scrutinise the paperwork authorising initial segregation. All other prisoners in segregation are seen on each rota visit and any views or observations are recorded on the prisoner's Segregation History Sheet and Board member's records. A member of the Independent Monitoring Board should aim to attend the Segregation Review Boards (the process of authorising continued

⁵ Days added are not actually days added to a sentence they are days added to their Earliest Date of Release (EDR), though still within the wider parameters of the prisoners initial sentence

segregation beyond the initial 72 hours). Their role is: to monitor and oversee the decision making process, to be satisfied that the laid down procedures have been followed, and to be satisfied that a reasonable decision has been reached by the Review Board (Her Majesty's Prison Service, 2001). This panel of external people are there to ensure the prisoners' rights are upheld, though they still maintain a persona of upholders of organisational power, *"... that's one of the things that's changed ... er ... the treatment has changed completely ... you very, very rarely saw the Board of Visitors ..."* (1/28).

However, this aside, it is this organisational power that prisoners describe as being all powerful and corrupt, violent and controlling. In its global term it is described as The System, a system that provides the power behind the functioning of the Her Majesty's Prison Service, any particular prison or any one part of a prison (such as a segregation unit). It is spoken about in terms of reverence, respect, fear, and loathing. Prisoners have discussed how the system, the organisational power that runs the segregation units, as being one of violence and fear. This is perpetuated throughout, and by, the system by its reputation and is the central point for the myths and legends of prisons throughout the years, *"... the Segregation Unit in Wormwood Scrubs at one time was incredibly⁶ violent ... you would be in the Seg ... for whatever reason ... you give them any lip ... members of staff would go into your cell at night ... hold a noose in front of you and say shut up ... you could be found swinging from your bars tomorrow morning ... they can produce a hundred witnesses to say ... yes ... he got a bad phone call last night ... from your mother or whatever ... that's it ..."* (1/120). This is a system which is designed to punish simply by existing, its existence should be enough of a deterrent for the prisoner not to do anything that would warrant getting sent there. The fear of segregation should be sufficient punishment (akin to the maxim that it is the sending to prison that is the punishment, you are not sent to prison to be punished) rather than the fear of the treatment you are going to receive once you get

⁶ prisoner emphasis

there. Yet the regime in the segregation units is a controlling and oppressive one, where prisoners have no control, power, nor say, in what happens, when it happens, how or by whom. Systemic routine (designed to maintain safety, security, and control) is essential to this environment being effective, “... *I train twice a day when I’m in the block just to relieve the boredom ... but apart from that ... nowt ... you have no control over what happens ... you get out for ... you get ½ an hour exercise ... 3 times a day you get out for your meals that’s it ... otherwise ... apart from your shower you have nowt to do ... read or train ...*” (5/37). It is the fixed rules that prisoners in prison, and the segregated environment, need to know first before they learn to read the emergent (prisoner) rules and by doing so utilise one of the power activities to commence to create a survival strategy.

The aforementioned prisoner Code of Conduct and Ethics (Crewe, 2007) (which acts as a foundation for the creation and formation/re-formation of the emergent rules, and vice versa) could be seen as a paradox, in that it is both, yet neither, the prisoners fixed rules and/or their emergent rules. They have a nucleus of fixed rules, yet they are contextually and situationally fluid and flexible, making them conceptually different from the extant organisational fixed rules. as dictated by the Code prisoners should: hold anti-authority views, be in opposition to the behaviour expected by the Officers and the system, fraternise as little as possible (if ever) with Officers and other representatives of the system, be loyal to fellow prisoners, (ie: not exploit others), display honour and integrity, should not grass on, or betray, each other, should show emotional and physical strength, and that they should mind their own business and do their own time (Sykes & Messinger, 1960; Garabedian, 1963; Mathieson, 1965; Welford, 1967; Thomas, 1977; Winfree, Newbould & Tubb, 2002).

Behaviour, or misbehaviour, from both groups, especially the behaviour of resistance from the prisoners, within the segregated environment, is enveloped within a culture of honour which is borne from the unwritten, but widely accepted, norms and values, the prisoner code. Whilst narrative,

unwritten, fluid and open to interpretation depending upon the individual prisoner and his context and situation, these do serve as a set of fixed rules for the prisoner. This is demonstrated in Table 6:2.

Table 6:2 - The Context of Rules

	FIXED RULES	EMERGENT RULES
Prisoner	Prisoner Code of Ethics / Culture	Ongoing Contextual Readings
Prison Officer / The System	Regulations Operational Policies	Ongoing Contextual Readings

This culture of honour (Crisp & Turner, 2007) is based on the deep seated belief that men need to protect their assets, including both their property and their integrity, by resorting to violence. This results in behaviour patterns, and relationships that are based on antagonism, and an undercurrent of hostility. Prisoners are the unwilling recipients of a regime which is founded on authority, power, and control (Crewe, 2005) and they are confronted by the bearers of that authority constantly. Thus Officers have significant collective power to deploy in the segregated environment. So prisoners, who are perceived by the authorities to be powerless, utilise a range of strategies and tactics that invariably resemble rebellion and insurrection, fighting back against the system, ie: resistance. It does appear that rebellion against the system is expected. The form the rebellion takes can be varied and innovative, ranging from a minor irritation for the staff and the organisation, through to acts of major insurrection and riot that are carefully planned and carried out.

Described as the idealised model of prisoner behaviour (Crewe, 2005), the Code has been discussed in relation to a range of phenomena, including: prisoner leadership (Sykes, 1958; Sykes & Messinger, 1960), the processes of prisoner socialisation (Wheeler, 1961; Atchley & McCabe, 1968), and the preservation of order within prisons (maintained by prisoners) (Crewe, 2005). When engaged in the segregated environment experience, the code, the prisoner value system and its encompassing society, creates the maxims by which the prisoners strive for successful

survival by making secondary adjustments (Goffman, 1961) to the (segregated) social order and learn to hide those aspects of themselves which are not beneficial for self preservation and survival. Once in the segregated environment the prisoner is required to conform (adjust) to, and comply with, this regime and accept that they are there for a predetermined period of time, and that adjusting to the immediate social requirement will ensure a trouble free segregation period.

At the start of this section, on Power Playing, I mentioned that a venue was required. While this obviously referred to the physical, tangible, venue of the segregated environment, it is also evident that there is a linguistic venue of the fixed and emergent rules, where the prisoner interacts with, and utilises, the organisations dictates and the prisoner's narratively transmitted rules through the Code of Conduct and Ethics (Crewe, 2007).

Reading Emergent Rules:

The prisoner society, its performance of activities, and role functioning is (in general, everyday terms) internally governed by its own set of rules, its emergent rules. Emergent rules, in the context of this study, are the rules that are unwritten guidelines for life in the segregated environment. They are

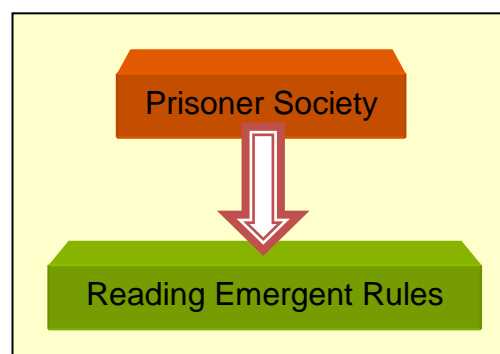


Figure 6:3 - Axial Code Reading Emergent Rules and Category

fluid and contextual to the wider prison situation, and the impacting factors the particular group of prisoners present at that time, as well as what other people are involved (staff groups), and the event(s) being engaged in. These are considered fluid and flexible, as they do not constitute, in any formal sense, any fixed rules of the immediate prisoner society. The unwritten rules that occur, and that are applied in the segregated environment, do not necessarily apply, or occur anywhere else within the

wider prison, that is, the wings, or the Healthcare Centre. One group of prisoners (while in the segregated environment) may develop a variant set of emergent rules to deal with a specific situation, while another group of prisoners would develop different rules for the same (or similar) situations. The differences are dependent upon the prisoners themselves and their influences over the situation(s), their ability to cope with the segregated environment, and the methods they employ to create the space necessary to achieve survival. But the one task that is necessary and imperative to each individual prisoner is that they must be able to read the emergent rules in every context, in every variation. This ability to read the context, and the vagaries, of each situation and the ensuing event is integral to the ability to survive.

Such emergent rules are created *by* the prisoner population, *for* the prisoner population, yet this also makes them more difficult for prisoners to keep abreast of, and read effectively, as they must, due to their fluidity. The prisoners in this study alluded to the fact there were areas where emergent (contextual and flexible) rules existed between themselves and the Prison Officers, a sharing of emergent rules, though these were never openly acknowledged, rather a mutual understanding of events and situations (the emergent rules) at the point where the two cultures met and shared (or appear to share) similar value bases. An example of this point of shared understanding between both groups is in relation to the way a prisoner is treated in the segregated environment, without prejudice or favour. All prisoners are treated exactly the same, irrespective of the reason they were sent there, “... *if you are down the Seg for telling a screw to fuck off you are treated the exact (emphasised) same way as somebody who has just took somebody’s head off their shoulders ... you are the same ... there is no minimum or maximum standards in the Seg ...*” (1/194). Similarly, it is a mutual expectation that each group will show the other respect and courtesy, “... *if you are respectful to me I’ll be respectful to you ... if you tell me to fuck off then I’ll tell you to fuck off ...*” (1/358). While a final example relates to the times that respect and human courtesy breaks down. Both prisoners and staff know that, “... *there was an*

unwritten rule that anyone who assaulted a Governor had to be moved out ..." (9/79). There is one simple maxim to follow for the prisoner, whatever set of prisoner (unwritten) rules are being played out by their peers, be it in the segregated environment or on the wings, on any particular occasion, they must make sure that they are followed explicitly. For there are occasions and situations which demand a unified front, a collective response, for conformity to the prisoner rules is required. Such times of organised trouble, or insurrection, riots, require the prisoners to present a unified front, a true collective of individuals, for at these times the collective is greater than its individual components (certainly numerically and in terms of the initial instigation of the incidence) despite this being relatively short lasting. On these occasions individuality and individual requirements, and actions, become secondary to the needs of the collective cause. On these occasions each prisoner is unified in the way they play their individual, though connected, role. Going against their peers is dangerous and could be seen as (passive) collusion with the staff. Anecdotes and allusions from the prisoners in this study suggested that it is easier to just NOT participate in an event (and therefore not encounter an infringement of the rules) rather than to be seen to be actively opposing it, or their peers.

The ability to be able to read the emergent rules in any given situation is critical to the prisoners. These revolve around social norms and values, and are the unwritten guidelines for life, that are contextual to the situation, the people involved and the event happening, "*... there was only a limited amount you could say without giving away some information to whoever else might be listening ...*" (9/35) "*... locked up on your own all the time ... you didn't get the opportunity to talk to anyone ... so when it was quiet, fellas could have a sensible conversation out the window and pass an hour or two ...*" (9/36). These are invariably as a consequence, more flexible and fluid, as they allow for ongoing survival within the segregated environment and, in some circumstances, they aid the increase in a prisoner's respect and social status.

If a prisoner does not know their immediate society's unwritten rules (as well as the written ones) they could (and probably will) fall foul of the system. A number of people stated that there is a certain amount of common sense required, and rapid reading and assimilation of the emergent rules, to ensure that you stay on the right side of rule breaking. The problem with unwritten rules is that they tend to be irrational, extreme, and carry extreme consequences for breaking them. Once prisoners know these rules (and accept that they are flexible) they can survive, but they need to keep abreast of the changes, which could occur whenever there was a change in the (prisoner) hierarchy, or when a major change in the system took place, *"... in most situations you could deal with violence, there would be a set of rules (even if irrational) so one could nonetheless learn to live with the threat ..."* (3/18).

The emergent rules derive from the social networks, allegiances and alliances which all prisoners deem essential to maintaining morale, psychological and physical survival. Within the wider prison setting this network of peers would look out for each other, this group of likeminded individuals would endeavour that their (immediate) peers do not break any emergent rules. In the segregated environment, as alluded to earlier, this collectiveness, borne out of membership to the social group, is dismembered due to the solitary nature of the regime, and is reduced to physical individualism, while retaining its social collective focus. It remains the source of the power underpinning the prisoner as an individual and as part of the collective. In this situation, the power of the group is stronger than the sum of the individuals, *"... all of us in chokey were entwined in a complex web of support that was completely involuntary ... just souls in torment, giving each other sustenance as, and when, we could ..."* (9/58), *"... it's because you've built a ... built a ... what would you call it ... a clique ..."* (7/170).

As with most other forms of closed societies, the prisoner society not only has its own internal language, collective and individual expectations, and taboos, but emergent rules and codes of conduct (Crewe, 2007). An

example is that if a prisoner is involved in a fight with another prisoner, and they spend time in segregation, once they return to the wings, all previous disagreements are forgotten. Once the fight is finished it is over and done with, no grudges or revenges are permitted, or expected. This is based on the fact that a lot of people are living very closely with each other for a long time and this is no place to carry a grudge or make long term enemies. So live and let live, “... *I mean ... before we came out of the Seg we shook hands ... and that’s it ... done and forgotten ...*” (4/106). Whilst this is part of the (unwritten) code of ethics, it is akin to a prisoner fixed rule, unwritten but fixed.

The prisoner grapevine, both within an individual prison, or across the national network is effective, and essential for the transference of news, gossip, and general information. This expanding personal network, and grapevine, also serves to help the mythology and tales to be spread around the country, tales about other prisoners (those to watch, those who can, or cannot, be trusted, those who have tales about them worthy of telling, those who can be useful) as well as tales of staff (those to watch, those who can be, and are, friendly, those who can be bought) and tales of the system, the urban myths and legends, all of which inform and influence the flexible emergent rules, “... *at the end of the day ... in these places the faces don’t change that much ... there are kids here who were here years ago ... I seem to know someone everywhere I go ... every jail I seem to land in ... always see a face I recognise ...*” (5/206).

In any insular group or environment, the development of their own contextual language and slang is no different for prisoners and Prison Officers. This promotes a sense of community through (perceived) secrecy. Such secrecy allows for the creation of a sense of power for the use of an intra-group language is powerful, in that it is believed that outsiders to that group do not, nor are allowed to, understand or use the language. However, within the prison setting both, opposing, parties tend, to a large extent, to share the same, or at least similar, slang which is understood by the opposing group. Such a slang lexicon covers issues

such as: being locked up, “... *banged up* ...” (6/5), a life sentence, “... *got lifed off* ...” (6/7), Officers who worked the night shift, “... *the night clubees* ...” (6/17), a weapon, “... *make a tool* ...” (6/23), “... *got this chiv* ...” (6/135), Prison Officers (in general), “... *a screw* ...” (1/26), Segregation, “... *the Block* ...” (4/14), “... *the chokey* ...” and many more. If the power base belongs to the more dominant group and demonstrated through actions, behaviours, and language, then the exclusive use of a house lingo (Goffman, 1961) reinforces that, dominant, power base. If one element of this is shared between the groups then it could be assumed that the dominance of that power base is weakened. So the sharing of prison slang is the ground of mutuality of the two social groups, the ground where they meet, and where they also, to some extent, share a number of fixed and emergent rules. This could be seen as the neutral territory from which all other demonstrations of power, from both social groups, are grounded and take place.

Power Positioning:

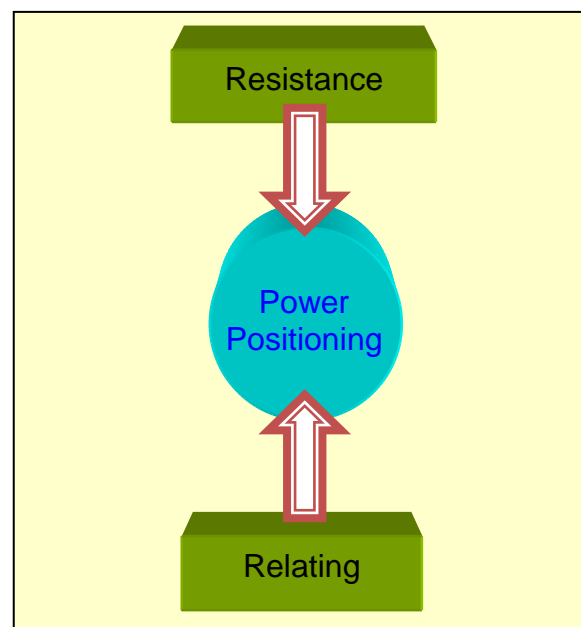


Figure 6:4 -
Sub Core Category Power Positioning and
Axial Codes

How a prisoner positions himself during the segregated environment experience will determine with how much success he can achieve the creation of the space necessary to survive, whether they can win, or lose, the power struggles that ensue, how well they adapt to, or adopt, rules and roles (individual and collective) and what the consequences are for completing, as well as failing

survival attempts. Within the prisoner collective, with their subculture of violence, where aggression is seen to be a legitimate lifestyle choice (Crisp & Turner, 2007), the position they adopt enables them to improve their status and power within their wider society. Such a group holds sets of norms and values that differ from most societies (Crisp & Turner, 2007), with rewards for aggression and violence, and punishment for failure to adhere to this violent group norm.

The prisoner is part of a world where the expectation, and emphasis, is on their individualistic response to oppression. Within the segregated environment this is their personal and individual response to the situation, events, and contexts surrounding him and how he responds, and what actions he undertakes, individually, to create a space necessary to survive that experience. He draws strength to survive and carry out survival acts, not only from within himself and his own reframing of power, but also from the prisoner, and especially segregation, collective. The prisoner's response is determined by the position he takes, be it one of resistance or false compliance. Both of these are integral to determining how the prisoner interacts, not only with the organisation in the more general sense, but specifically with the figures that represent that authority, the prison staff. It will also determine how they respond to any, and all, actions of oppression from the authority. In the segregated environment this is perceived as the formalised oppression from Her Majesty's Prison Service with its rules and routines and need for good order and discipline.

The position the prisoner adopts, and subsequently utilises, to create the space to achieve survival, commences at the point of transfer, the process of transition from the wings to the segregated environment. This transition is seen, for some first timers, as completing a rite of passage and as such is described as liminality (Harvey, 2005). The idea of liminality comes from within social anthropology and there are three phases that constitute a rite of passage (Jewkes, 2005) separation, margin (or limen) and aggregation. Separation comprises symbolic behaviour signifying the detachment of the individuals, or group, either from an earlier fixed point in

the social structure, or from a set of cultural conditions, or from both (van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1969). The liminal phase, on the other hand, is a period that is ambiguous, where the individual passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state (ibid). Finally, the individual reaches a more stable state and, because of this, has rights and obligations vis-à-vis others of a clearly defined and structural type. This is as a time when the prisoner is expected to behave in accordance with new (segregated environment) “customary norms and ethical standards” (Turner, 1969, p95). He is “neither here nor there, he is betwixt and between the position assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony” (ibid). Once he is socialised into the segregated environment he is either a passive recipient or an active participant, and he is expected to reach a new stable equilibrium following the initial entry period (Harvey, 2005) which is also what the prisoner desires as this will ensure survival.

A large percentage of prisoners find this transition difficult to accept, and to acknowledge. Understandably they do not want to accept that they have crossed a boundary (Harvey, 2005) from the prison wings into the segregated environment, and as a consequence they find ways (either passive or active: directed inwards or outwards) whereby they can maintain a degree of agency. Agency is the capacity, condition, or state, of acting, or exerting, power (Irwin & Owen, 2005). In such a regimented and disciplinary environment prisoners increasingly lose their capacity to exert power and control over their destiny and therefore either conform and go under, or resist, or utilise false compliance and survive. Segregation is completely ruled, routinised and restricted with few opportunities to make decisions about, or exert choices, in their daily routine (ibid). The internalisation of such social rules is a necessity as well as a facet of socialisation, but one that is unpalatable to the prisoner.

It is through this liminality, this transition phase into the segregated environment, that individuals find ways in which to adapt to such an oppressive society. To adapt is to survive, and prisoners need to adapt to

differing experiences and differing regimes within the same establishment. The segregated environment brings with it a further set of adaptation requirements. If a prisoner cannot adapt to the harsh reality of the environment, and the encompassing solitary confinement, then the consequences could be disastrous to the person's individuality and sense of normality (which has already taken a severe beating by the process of being imprisoned). Their sense of individuality within that enclosed society will change dramatically as a consequence.

The Social Identity approach states that people incorporate into their self concept any traits that are thought to be part of the group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), regardless of whether those traits are positive or negative, and as such the prisoners form a cohesive band with a collective mentality to enable them to ultimately survive. This collectivism is rooted in the fact that they are a clearly defined and designated sub-culture within the establishment and promoted through the prisoner code of ethics (Crewe, 2007) and adherence to the flexible emergent rules that apply at any given situation. However, conversely they have no desire for their macro social group to be evaluated positively by the opposition (ibid). Traditionally, people try to maintain a positive personal identity by comparing themselves favourably to other group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Yet, there is no comparison with, or desire to be like, the members of the opposing group (the prison staff). Distance is required, developed, and actively adhered to at all times, for distance ensures one strand of successful power positioning, and guarantees that the unwritten emergent rules are followed explicitly. It could be seen that the tension between the fixed and the emergent rules, across both prisoner and Prison Officer groups, is both the source of, and the fuel for, resistance. Despite this distance dictating that the Prison Officer gives the prisoner no leeway, nor showing them any kindness, there were rare acts of compassion and humanity. One prisoner described how, on one occasion in segregation, he had to endure a red light being turned on in his cell for 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, yet, "*... it was more the red bulb than anything else ... that*

light ... God ... the amount of times I wanted to smash it off ... and some of the night clubees started turning it off for me ...” (6/17).

Resistance

The practices of resistance are responses to a dominant ideology (Rose, 2002) and “practices of resistance cannot be separated from practices of domination: they are always entangled in some configuration”

(Routledge, 1997, p361). In this

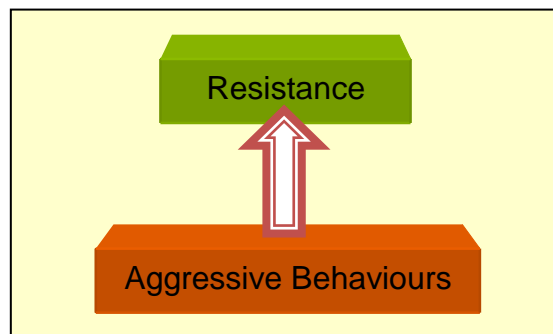


Figure 6:5 - Axial Code Resistance and Category

sense, the prisoners actions of perceived resistance, the behaviours of survival of Being Mad, Being Bad, and/or Being Cool (of which more in a moment) are not just demonstrations of power to, they are essential for the development of the survival space. For to resist against domination (through Being Mad, Being Bad, or Being Cool) is to seek to dominate, to rise against, and above, the inherent oppression of the segregated environment and survive, rather than just resisting (as a matter of course, irrespective of the outcomes) and, hope to, survive.

Resistance is “not a linear confrontation of forces” (Pile, 1997, p3) but is “about the multidimensional relationships among contingent positions of power” (ibid). This, he claims, demonstrates how people adapt systems into an array of strategic spaces. Defining these as “alternative spatialities” (ibid), he appears to be referring to the actual product of resistance, in that the person doing the resisting has control over a, limited, amount of space, created through resisting. While there are obvious similarities between Pile’s work and this study, there are also quite significant differences. Pile appears to be referring to the space of, and for, the acts of resistance to occur. This study takes, and conceptualises resistance as, one element of, creating a space, and of the actual space. This in itself differs theoretically

and conceptually from Pile's space, as the space in this current study is created to achieve survival, rather than to enact, or as a consequence of, resistance.

Resistance is also seen as a conscious practice intentionally designed to overcome, or change, some perceived effect of power (Cresswell, 1996, 1999; Routledge, 1997; Rose, 2002). This succinctly sums up the nature, and application, of resistance for the prisoner in the segregated environment. It is not the actual power that is being resisted against, it is the effects of that power on the individual prisoner. Such acts of resistance by the prisoner fall into both of the traditional and unintentional (Scott, 1985; Cresswell, 1996) categories of resistance. The first form of resistance is actioned by the tangible nature of the prisoner's striking back at the authority and its representative figures. It is this visible demonstration of resistance that is seen, and responded to, and as such is seen to be resistance against the authority's power. It is the second form of resistance that is more apposite here as this is "motivated by interests and desires that can lie outside the purview of hegemony" (Pile, 1997, p15). It is the creation of a space between themselves and the application, and effects, of power that the prisoners desire and by doing so, ultimately survive the segregated experience. Yet the practice, of resistance, is not determined by desire (Cresswell, 1996). This study and the prisoners in the segregated environment, show that practices of resistance *are* determined by desire.

Resistance by the prisoners in the segregated environment is actioned through their personal power activities; activities that come from within the triad of survival actions, and are, as such, "in the face of" and "under the noses" of authority (Pile, 1997, p16), and it is this that allows for the creation of a space that permits the prisoner to survive, as discussed at length in this thesis. This has resonance with the concept of thirdspace (Bhabha, 1994; Soja, 1996; Law, 1997; Moore, 1997; Pile, 1997). Thirdspace, the "space of lived situations, positioned between abstract conceptions of hegemony and [their] fulfilment of life" (Soja, 1996, p39)

can “encompass any form of contradictory practice in the system and is broad” (Rose, 2002, p387).

In this sense then we can see that, for the prisoner in the segregated environment, to resist against domination is to seek to *dominate*, and survive, rather just *resist* and survive. It is the domination over all attempts to control their lives that they are striving for, for it is the consequences that such resistance (survival) brings, rather than the nature of the resistance, that are important. It is situations such as this, accompanied with the environmental and relationship factors that tend to amplify the use of strategies of resistance (Martel, 2006). In this sense, for the prisoners, the consequential effect is survival and it is only this consequential effect that distinguishes domination and resistance (Hinchliffe, 2000) in all other respects they are the same. Therefore power is power is power, whether it be dominant or resistive.

We can see that Foucault’s (1977) discussion of the docile body is the consequential effect of the authority’s domination, whereas survival for the prisoners in this study is the consequential effects of resistance. He (Foucault, 1978) states that “where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority to power” (p95), thus reflecting the fact that there is no distinction between the power of dominance and the power of resistance. As power is not coercive (Hartmann, 2003) it must be understood as a set of relations in which the “existence of these relations entails the possibility of resistance” (p3).

Demonstrations of resistance within the segregated environment may not, for whatever reason, involve all the prisoners at all times. However, no matter how many, or how few, take part in acts of resistance, a sense of camaraderie or communality ensues and thus any small gains made by one prisoner are, by default, gained by them all. A basis for this collective power is a shared set of values generated by a common predicament, referred to as structural solidarity (Sykes, 1958) and incorporates the

collective bargaining power that this provides. Yet the maxim that the collective is greater than the sum of its individuals, is the target for the authorities (target the group and destroy the sense of cohesion). Thus any punitive actions taken can be seen to be wide reaching and (potentially) excessive.

Within such a deviant and extreme environment as a prison, behaviour within this relationship is perceived to be to some extent, the norm, though also a failure of power on the part of the Prison Officers. Within the segregated environment, the quantity, & quality, of such behaviours escalates to a point where a new level of nonconformity is expected, and begrudgingly, but eventually, accepted as something resembling the norm. Thus the watershed of anti social, non-conformist, behaviour (intended to create a survival space) rises to dangerous levels. This is perpetuated by people who are already deemed to be deviant and non-conformists, and is reinforced by the deviant and non-conformist social order they inhabit, and the dangerous acts they engage in. Such behaviours require prisoners to adapt to their environment and therefore their, adapted, responses are invariably degrees of non-compliance, in other words, Being Mad, Being Bad, or Being Cool.

The power utilisation that unfolds within the segregated environment, is done in the absence of any right to legitimately use physical force, yet (anecdotally) this is one of the commonest options adopted by the authorities when confronted with disruptive prisoners (Cavadino & Dignan, 2002). Yet while they are in the segregated environment, the prisoners only come face to face with their opposing numbers for an hour a day for they are shut in their cells for 23 hours per day. This punitive strategy aside, this mechanism of the organisation's power play, this removal from association, and socialisation, is categorised as an administrative procedure, rather than a disciplinary sanction (ibid).

The range of, and potential for, prisoner (mis)behaviour in the segregated environment, is relative to the limitations placed upon them by the physical

environment. As would be expected the way they behave in segregation will determine how they will be treated, but also, how they are treated will determine how they behave or (mis)behave. All this culminates in whether they will perform as Being Mad, Being Bad, or Being Cool, but ultimately whether they will, or will not, survive this segregated environment experience, physically, psychologically, or socially. Surviving segregation, the environment, as well as segregation the experience, is essential to the prisoners who encounter it. It appears to be a case of just get on with it and accept what is dispensed, or go under fighting, or otherwise, *“... you have to adapt ... how can I put it ... come to terms with ... you are here and you are going to be here for the foreseeable future and it’s just a case of making the most of it ... get your head around it and just get on with it ... basically ... with the minimum of fuss ...”* (2/202). This ability to cope and survive is felt by some of the prisoners interviewed, to be a reflection of their inner strength, their personality (their personal survival abilities, techniques and determination), *“... some people crack ... some people don’t ... some people have the strength ...”* (1/220). But added to this is the question of whether their ability to cope depends also upon their social persona (their social status and reputation/respect they have within the prisoner society) or the prison they are in (the individuality and uniqueness of each segregation unit and the conditions they are being kept under), *“... oh yeah ... I’ve seen people cope badly ... and they’ve only been doing a few months ... or whatever it is ...”* (2/220). Drawing on the earlier mentioned work of Bettelheim (1961) and Frankl (1984) and Foucault’s seminal *Discipline and Punish* (1977) it could be concluded that power invites resistance because this is the nature of human beings.

Those prisoners who reported, and discussed, aggressive behaviour always talked about themselves (or their peers) as being the victims of aggression from staff (though, as stated earlier, there is no hard evidence for this) never the perpetrators of such behaviour towards staff. It could be assumed (though not substantiated) that staff would, probably, say that prisoner beatings on staff were unprovoked and unwarranted while prisoners being beaten by staff, if it happened at all, was self defence, *“... ”*

most ... were accompanied by aggression and on many instances direct violence both by myself on prison staff and by prison staff on myself ..." (8/2). There has often been the suggestion, and implication, that (currently as well as historically) all new receptions to the segregated environment receive a beating by the staff upon their arrival, for no apparent reason being needed or given (again unsubstantiated). Prison mythology is replete with stories about the beatings that prisoners receive(d), though in balance, there are stories of the beatings in segregation that the staff have received from the more violent prisoners, *"... as far as the Seg goes, or as they commonly call it 'The Block' ... er ... in the 15 years I've been in ... it's changed considerably, that is ... it's nothing, absolutely nothing like it used to be ... er ... there's ... erm ... (brief pause) ... 15 years ago if you went into the Seg for whatever reason, you could be commonly assured that you would get a beating by the staff ..."* (1/22). The impact of the mythology surrounding segregation is compounded to the point of reality. For even if it is not true that the prisoners receive unprovoked, or barely provoked, beatings, they act from that construction. For when things are defined as real they have real consequences for actions (Blumer, 1969).

One of the greatest areas of mythology within the segregated environment (though, as with all myths, there is more than an element of truth involved) surrounds the ultra-violent prisoners. These are the (admittedly small number of) prisoners within the segregated environment network whose behaviour is uncontrollable, and cannot be managed by normal measures. To this extent such prisoners require more than the minimum standard to open a segregation cell door (three Officers + one Senior or Principal Officer). Rumours abound about people who require nine, 10 or even 14 men to open the cell door⁷, *"... yes ... but the thing is ... don't ever underestimate a prisoner ... there was a prisoner ... we were in Seg at the time ... he would not stop kicking his door ... staff came and said if you don't stop doing that you are going to the strip cell ... he wouldn't stop doing it ... so they all came in ... 5 of them ... he took out an SO and a*

⁷ For a graphic example see the Movie 'McVicar', or read any of the self penned work by Charles Bronson (the prisoner not actor)

screw before they got him to the strip cell ... and I mean he took (emphasised) them out ... right ... violence comes in all shapes and sizes ... right ... we are not in here for shoplifting ... (1/278).

Physical survival is, effectively, guaranteed, but psychological, emotional, and mental survival is something which needs to be worked at to be ensured. This can be through a range of clearly worked out individual cognitive strategies, or just as a result of a certain mentality, a certain mind set, a particular personality type, to survive⁸. This has been described thus, “the personalities of the convicts, men who create their own freedom even in captivity out of their own violence, vulgarity and cruel will to life, that dominate ...” (Dostoyevsky, 1860, p15). To supplement these are the range of behaviours prisoners can, and do, engage in to maintain stability and ensure survival. These range from creating their own routine to fill the time and occupy their minds, to behaviours which could be considered compliant, for example, continuing an educational programme of study, though this is also an effective temporal diversionary tactic, to utilising a range of antisocial, aggressive (internally or externally directed) behaviours. In essence, the prisoner strives to ensure that everything he does, or does not do, contributes to survival (or otherwise) within the segregated environment, though this is not always possible. Everything appears to carry a consequence that can, and probably will, be detrimental to how (or even whether) they survive the rest of their segregation experience. Survival in this context does not necessarily refer directly to life or death survival, it is about psychological and personal survival, or just having a quiet time and keeping your nose clean, “... *just a survival instinct* ...” (7/158).

Resistance against the effects of the oppressive power placed upon the prisoner in the segregated environment is the life blood of creating a space to achieve survival. This is not resistance against authority or power per se, this is resistance against the damaging and potentially fatal effects

⁸ Ditto previous footnote

of this regime, and its goals of conformity and compliance. Physically this could be any degree of harm done to the body as a consequence of the prisoner's interactions with the Prison Officers, "... *the heavy mob of screw bullies had regularly beaten up men ...*" (9/5), or damage done to their own body "... *as I was lying in the corner of the strip cell, surrounded by Officers who were kicking me, one humanitarian decided that I needed the blood washing off me before the doctor arrived and he urinated on me ...*" (8/7), "... *I mean I saw this one Officer ... female ... she booted this guy in the balls so fucking hard ... she took a 4 step run up and booted him ... she ... cracked him one and his nose is all over the place ... this female Officer ... 4 steps and just booted him clean in the balls ... and ... he's on the floor out for the count ... and they just dragged him by his feet round to the strip cell ...*" (6/97), "... *the first time I hit that Seg I had the mattress put on top of me in the strip cell and they beat the shit out of me ...*" (9/125) or it could even result in death, "... *murdered in that Segregation Unit by staff ... the imprints of their boots were actually found on his body ... right ... he was kicked to death ...*" (1/30).

The potential damage that can be done to the prisoner's inner self due to the severity and long lasting nature of such a regime and treatment is what the survival space is protecting against. Physical damage can be repaired relatively easily, though the damage to a person's individuality, their inner self, can be far more lasting and even permanent. Linked in with this are also the consequences of non-resistance and non-survival of the segregated environment, and what these can do to the prisoner's social and hierarchical status, in essence the respect the prisoner has within the prison network amongst his peers (and also to an extent amongst the Officers).

Relating:

The relationship with the opposing social group is complicated, yet paradoxically simplistic. At best it is a relationship of tolerance, at worst it is one of hostility. How prisoners relate to the Prison Officers is a

reflection of how they enact the (aforementioned) balancing of knowing the fixed rules and reading the emergent rules. The prisoner Code of Conduct & Ethics (Crewe, 2007) and emergent rules, forbid prisoners from giving respect or prestige to Prison Officers. Suspicion of staff, their motives and actions is encouraged, if not demanded. Prisoners are required to always

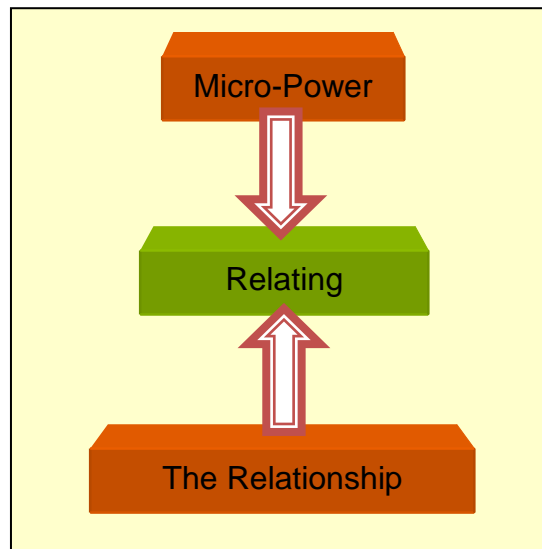


Figure 6:6 - Axial Code Relating and Categories

oppose prison staff and support their peers in disputes (Crewe, 2005). Within this relationship deference and respect are never guaranteed and have to be constantly negotiated (ibid). This is an opportunity to allow both parties to demonstrate their ability to take, use, and maintain, power. A consequence of the simple economics of scales, yet despite (or because of) this fact, the conflicts against conformity and power start again on a daily basis. The prisoners demonstrate resolve and determination, which ultimately benefits their status and gains them respect from their peers (both in the segregated environment and when they return to their wings). It is evident that the greater the prisoner's resistance to the authority's power, the greater the social benefits to them. For such power is to be resisted and retaliated against, it is not simply held by the powerful to be directly confronted and seized. It flows throughout the social body, through surveillance, petty rules, and assumptions about appropriate behaviour. Resistance therefore occurs through everyday minor acts of subversion (Crewe, 2007).

The relationships between prisoners and the way they interact with, and between, each other is (or appears to be) firmly dictated by, and within, the conventions of the collection of emergent rules. These include where you are in the hierarchy, and the nature of your offence (amongst other things), *"... but as I say ... because ... it's a code of ethics in prison ..."* (4/86).

Despite the occasional altercation, relationships between prisoners are, in general, quite stable due to the fact that (as already mentioned) prisoners do not (appear to) generally hold grudges. Some of the prisoners felt that this is possibly for a number of reasons: the power created by a united collective, and they need all the allies (acquaintances) they can get. To carry a grudge is self destructive and this leads to more problems. This is especially true as you do not know how large the other person's social network is, and to hold a grudge against one person means holding a grudge against the whole group, thus increasing the chance of, and opportunities for, revenge or reprisal attacks, "... *you can't hold ... it's not a place you can hold grudges ...*" (7/200). It is (anecdotally) claimed that a person does not have friends in prison, only acquaintances, or enemies, "... *well I could have stayed at the top and carried on fighting ... but ... and I've got no friends now ...*" (6/41). The formation of a clique, a social network, takes time and this (appears) to be an issue of trust. A prisoner needs to be able to trust the person they are befriending, it comes down to the simple fact of whether or not they can trust (and rely upon) them (and can this be reciprocated) in times of trouble and conflict, "... *a group ... yeah ... you've built a ... you've got your own little team ... your ... your guys that will back you ... the people you need around you to survive within a system like this ...*" (7/172). But this is also built upon a payback system: what can the prisoner do for the collective (micro or macro) social network he is wishing to join. So not only is the power of the prisoner's positioning in relation to their interactions with the staff, but also to their relating with the prisoner collective. This is comparable to being part of a social class or an ethnic minority group.

The prisoner-staff relationship is based firmly upon power and its acquisition, maintenance, demonstration, and usage. Most prisoners have, over the years either consciously decided, or learnt not, to speak to staff for they feel that if they do staff will twist what they say and use it against them. This may not be straight away but it will happen at some point in the future. The prisoner code of ethics (Crewe, 2007) dictates that no contact is good contact (unless absolutely essential), appears to ensure survival,

“... I learnt a long time ago not to speak to them ... saves a lot of trouble ... they don’t get the wrong idea ... you don’t get the wrong idea ...” (7/184). There is a common thought (amongst the prisoners) that, for the majority of Prison Officers, there is no other relationship than Us and Them, for the everyday relationship is rarely spoken of in anything resembling equal, or even friendly terms, it is seen as always being one of conflict, and the prisoners are more than willing to perpetuate this, *“... its ‘Us’ against ‘Them’ ...” (1/46).* There can be nothing other than a distant relationship, nothing resembling friendly, a relationship built upon mistrust and power. Prisoners are there so that the Officers can do their job, and as such any interactions between them are perfunctory and part of their job role, *“... another name and number ... another guy on the landing ... it doesn’t make any difference to them how long I’ve been in ...” (7/188).* There is no (immediate) hatred, antipathy, nor feelings of friendship or warmth, reported by some of the prisoners, they acknowledge it is simply a job for the staff, just as (as has been alluded to) getting sent to the segregated environment is as much as part of the prisoner job. Each party has a role to play and job to do, and each party just performs it, *“... at the end of the day they’re doing their job ... if you don’t give them any trouble you don’t get none ... you know what I mean ... I just seem to get on with it ...” (5/39).* The actual interaction undertaken within the relating process can be either positive or negative depending upon the situation, context, and events unfolding. However, it is clearly evident that a neutral form of relating also operates effectively, that being choosing not to relate is also a form of relating.

The prisoner’s relationship with the staff (in general) in both the segregated environment and on the wings appears to be based upon how the staff relate to the prisoner’s social status, reputation and respect. Respect is essential to the prisoner in segregation, as the amount of respect will determine how he is treated. It will also determine how much, and by what (expected) methods, the other prisoners will expect him to be rebellious, and thus be a leader either in singular or collective actions. In this sense respect is (unlike other uses of the term in the prison context)

not the esteem in which a prisoner is held, rather it describes a cautiousness in which they are approached and treated by the staff, for lack of respect could result in further disturbance from the prisoner. So, respect is about a mutual (and possibly begrudging) acknowledgment for each other's (prisoner and Officer) capability and capacity for resorting to violence, "... *when you are on an SO and 3 you get more respect ... the screws'll respect you ... because ... when I was down the Seg ... the screws ... they don't want to fuck with you because they've got to open your door 3 times a day to feed you and exercise so you are left alone ... that's a good thing ...*" (6/17). Most prisoners prefer to call staff, 'Boss' or 'Sir' as a mark of respect, a reflection of power, and this is reinforced in a reciprocal manner by the staff, who are socialised into this attitude. It also serves to prevent prisoners getting too close and personal, a way of maintaining distance, "... *there is one thing I have never done in prison ... I have never called any of them 'Sir', 'Boss' or 'Governor' ... never ... I have said to people wearing suits ... are you a Governor ... I have called them John, Bill, Frank, Paul anything ... I have never (emphasised) called them 'Sir' ... I will respect you ... I've told governors this ... I've told staff this ... if you are respectful to me I'll be respectful to you ...*" (1/358).

All the prisoners in this study talk about the (perceived) controlling role and (actual) controlling power and function of segregation, "... *shove them in and forget them ... all people want ... a quiet life ... they don't want any problems ... it's the same in the Seg ...*" (1/108). Conversely though, they do acknowledge that there is not always a need for the demonstration of power and control, or the erosion of a person by (the anecdotal) regular and organised beatings. For sometimes it is peaceful, but even in these times of quiet the Officers would congregate in groups, (allegedly for safety and security) but also as a visible reminder that this is their domain, and they are, and have, the power here, so things can be as peaceful or not as they decide, "... *there were several screws standing about, but nothing was said to me and there was no overt hostility ...*" (9/29).

Power Posturing:

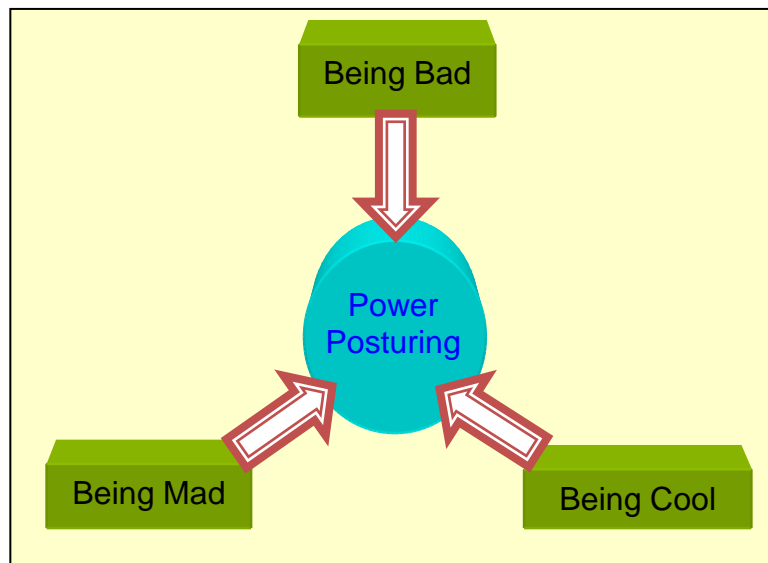


Figure 6:7 -
Sub Core Category Power Posturing and Axial Codes

As prisoners enter the segregated environment they have to come to terms with the regime, and all that entails. They quickly need to know the fixed rules, and learn how to read the emergent rules.

Their primary concern, from this point onwards, is creating the space necessary for achieving survival, in any way they can. This is enacted through the posture they adopt to enable them to retain a semblance of power, the power to survive.

Such power is the (albeit limited) power a prisoner has to maintain, and administer, some degree of control and autonomy over aspects of his life while he is within the segregated environment. It is inevitable that in such an environment expressions of power are done through the performance of acts of an extreme antisocial (Being Mad), violent (Being Bad), or even an ambivalent (Being Cool) nature. Irrespective of the chosen behavioural (action(s) of power) posturing, it is, inevitably seen by the recipient, or the observer, as an expression of hatred: hatred for the individual target (the Officer), the environment (segregation), or the organisation as a whole, which is displayed through disruptive and anti social behaviour. In reality such behaviours are the actions necessary to enable the prisoner to create his survival space.

Power posturing requires the adoption of Goffman's (1961) performing self as one of the major adaptations to, and consequences of, the segregated environment. The prisoner is removed of any vestiges of their individuality (official self) as it is firmly stripped of all its characteristics. In the segregated environment this stripping ranges from the wearing of prison clothing, through the routinisation and regulating of every daily activity, to the none-integration with fellow prisoners. Goffman (1961) describes numerous ways in which this occurs, yet offers no suggestions for ways in which the individual can resist this dehumanisation process. He proposes that the institution wins every time, leaving the individual with no option but to conform. This adaptation is designed to, and has the effect of, allowing the prisoner to survive segregation. This alternative posturing, this change in their visible image of being is as a result of the new context they are entering. The re-being process is (ultimately) contextual and (frequently, and preferably) temporary.

So to be able to create a space for achieving survival, and survive successfully, the prisoners need to re-create, re-design, re-being themselves, their visible presentation of self, their thoughts, actions, and beliefs about themselves, their abilities and capabilities. This re-being incorporates the development of new strategies to be able to cope and survive in this new segregated environment context. Such powerful coping strategies, which come in the form of Power Playing, Power Positioning, or Power Posturing, may simply be minor (contextual) adjustments to some already utilised, or alternatively, they may be new, untried, or even previously unconsidered, or inconceivable (in other circumstances).

The re-being process commences during the aforementioned liminality period where they shed off the responsibilities and requirements (albeit not through their choosing) of their wing based personas and adopt the necessities for survival in this segregated environment. It is through this transition phase into the segregated environment, this liminality that individuals find ways in which to create and utilise power posturings, and to adapt to such an oppressive society, for to adapt to different

experiences and different regimes is to survive. Being dispossessed of their individuality, of their personal clothing, of all their possessions, so that they are left with nothing, the prisoner is in a state of total physical and mental deprivation and, therefore, the necessity for power posturing becomes all the more important to ensure the maintenance of their former selves and to allow for the creation of a space for survival. Such posturing is derived from, and contextual to, the segregated environment. It is seen as part of the personal demonstration of individuality and power which are the desperate measures and lengths that prisoners, during desperate times are driven to. The (wider) social acceptability of these (extreme) survival measures is determined by their quantity as well as quality. Thus, deviant behaviour in itself is not enough to isolate a prisoner from the wider social order, but rather the frequency, the amount, and the severity of that behaviour.

All the forms of strategic behaviours and posturing employed by the prisoners are actions of reframing power in this context of ensuring survival (and the creation of a space to achieve this), by one method or another. It could be, and is being, proposed that this is equitable to surviving a disaster. For that is what this is for most prisoners, a disaster for them, their reputation, their physical and mental well being, and a disaster of potentially catastrophic proportions. The disaster management work of Hodgkinson & Stewart (1991) explores how men respond to and survive a very personal type of disaster, in this instance being sent to segregation and the emotional turmoil that this creates. They identify five central experiences felt by survivors, the “death imprint (indelible imagery of the encounter with death)”, “survivor guilt (why did I survive and others not)”, “psychic numbing (a defensive manoeuvre preventing the survivor from experiencing the reality of the event)”, “nurturance conflicts (suspicion of offers of help from outsiders)” and, “quest for meaning (why did it happen)” (Hodgkinson & Stewart, 1991, p2). This is to “do with quality of life” (ibid) and involves progressing from the event and its aftermath and transforming the experience. In this study it is not the progression to transformation, following or during, the aftermath that the prisoner is

encountering. They are firmly located in the centre of the actual experience, as it actually happens, for it is this experience they are surviving, as it happens. So progressing from a traumatic event to re-establishing some quality of life is not the desire, or main concern, for the prisoners. They are determined to maintain some quality of life as the traumatic event of segregation unfolds, through the establishment of a survival space. The notion of survival (and the creation of a space to achieve this) is especially important within the segregated environment. In the majority of cases the reason for being placed in this regime is for the purpose of punishment, within the prison's prison. Whilst this is, for most prisoners, probably the most debilitating of actions that can be imposed upon them, there are exceptions to every rule for there are some prisoners (as shown in this study) who see the segregated environment as an occupational hazard, an inevitability, and are therefore not distressed by the experience. Similarly, there are prisoners who see it as a place of solace and asylum, somewhere to recharge their personal batteries and take stock of their lives, a place of peace and mindfulness. They have reframed the segregation experience so that it cannot impact upon them. Regardless of a prisoner's stance and personal philosophy about, and viewpoint on, the segregated environment, the routine and regimentation are fundamental, for privileges are withdrawn and limited and life quickly revolves around the only times prisoners are allowed out of, or when staff enter, their cells and the two groups interact with each other; these being the routine and regimented activities of feeding, exercising, and showering. The remainder of the time they are left to their own devices, and in such a state of physical and mental deprivation, with nothing to occupy or stimulate them, they have nothing left to do except to simply strive to survive.

Traces of the posturings of power, once formed, remain with the prisoners to be used (adapted and refined) again, as the basis for future methods of adaptation each one contextually building upon its predecessor. This structural interdependency between the individual prisoner, and the macro and micro societies, is indestructible, and essential to the human condition

(Goffman, 1961). In this sense we can see how the emergent rules, that serve to action the code of conduct and ethics, are inextricably linked to the prisoner's behaviour and how one is a reflection of the other. For without these emergent rules the prisoner would have no framework of reference regarding survival behaviours and without such behaviours there would be no possibility of survival. To survive in both the literal and social senses the individual has no option but to enter some kind of arrangement with, and adaptation to, this controlled social order. Consequently, to ensure the Power Posturing adopted to be successful, prisoners appear to develop (unconsciously, or maybe consciously) high level skills of problem solving. In order to survive in any kind of social order an individual has to engage in a continuous process of evaluation and re-evaluation of the demands and expectations made upon him, and attempt to satisfy those by presenting an acceptable behaviour to the outside world (Goffman, 1961).

This is exemplified by one of the prisoners in this study. He was sentenced to an extensive life sentence in his late teens for a serious murder. For the first 10 years or so of his sentence he became, by his own definition, a Seg Rat. He was constantly in and out of segregation invariably for fighting and other serious anti social acts. His time in segregation was littered with aggression against the staff, for he saw this as just another battle ground against authority. Serious acts of violence and aggression were a way of life to this prisoner. On the wings he had a high social status and was feared and respected (in both the prison and normal sense) by his peers and the staff, for the acts of intense violence and criminal dealings he undertook, as well as for his disregard for his own and others safety. He was, again by his own description, a troublesome prisoner and the authorities responded accordingly. At interview it was obvious that this prisoner was highly intelligent and capable of high level thinking and this was demonstrated in the way he rationalised and explained his behaviour in prison, and also when he discussed the planning that was involved in organising some of the actions of collective disturbance he had instigated within a number of prisons. He described in depth, during the interview, a

turning point in his prisoner career where he realised he had a choice to make. One option was that he could continue his current lifestyle and spend the rest of his days fighting. However, he knew that if he chose this option he would spend longer and longer spells in segregation and probably never get out of prison, or even be killed there. Or he could turn his life around and strive for ultimate release. He was aware that this was a hard task as he had a lot to prove to the authorities, and a lot of trust to build. He was also aware that he was not only fighting against his reputation, history, and the suspicion and scepticism of the staff but also the hatred of, and reprisals from, his peers. After much soul searching he chose the latter course.

Once he had made this life changing decision, and discussed it with the authorities (an act that went against everything he previously believed in and stood for) he started on his new career of reformation. As a consequence he was transferred to 'the numbers' (the wing that housed predominantly sex offenders). This in itself was a testing time, for these were the very people he hated the most within the prison system, and would (historically) invariably, seriously assault them given the opportunity, but now he was one of this marginalised and hated group. This raised a lot of questions and distrust amongst his (former) peers and he had to run the gauntlet of their abuse and threats constantly. But to his credit he has stuck by his decision and despite occasional lapses of self doubt regarding his decision, and expressions that he would like to return to his old, fighter, life style, he had rarely been in the segregated environment, and when he is, he no longer fights. He explained that he is not yet a totally reformed character as this is still work in progress as there are a lot of old habits and life style behaviours to eradicate completely but he is working on them. Most of his recent, but infrequent, trips to segregation (which are reducing in number and in length) have been (he feels) as a consequence of staff responding to his current rule breaking misdemeanours (minor when compared to those of old) in the same (overly cautious and overly controlling) way they would have done in the past. Whereas, he feels, other prisoners would have received a caution or the removal of some

privileges he (due to his previous reputation) was sent to segregation. But he accepts this as part of the change process, and does not respond as they thought he would, nor could, have, or would have, in the past.

The two social groups in the segregated environment feature (from opposing ends) on the humanisation/dehumanisation continuum: dehumanisers and dehumanisee's. While this appears simplistic the reality of it is more complex. As the two groups are intrinsically linked in the humanisation/dehumanisation process they are both capable of dehumanising attitudes, behaviours and actions towards the other. While either group respond in accordance with what they perceive as being necessary in response to how they are being treated, they also require the other groups dehumanising actions to effectively sanction their responses against such behaviour. For if the staff did not act in a dehumanising manner then the prisoners would not need to utilise their actions of power in order to survive, and if the prisoners did not utilise these survival behaviours (Being Mad, Being Bad, or Being Cool) then the staff would not need to respond accordingly in a way that is perceived, or is actually, dehumanising towards the prisoners. So begins a cycle of dehumanising behaviours, for one begets the other. Dehumanisation occurs (Crisp & Turner, 2007) when people fail to see others as unique human beings. It is in response to this that induces, in the prisoner, the desire or need to be(come) Mad, Bad or Cool, otherwise they would maintain previous postures and this would not allow, nor contribute towards, survival. The staff deindividualise (and as a consequence ultimately dehumanise) the prisoners which is, according to the prisoners in this study, the attitude taken by staff. So it is that the prisoners fight (physically, psychologically, and socially) to maintain their individuality and independence. By perceiving someone else to be in some way less than human (or less human than themselves), staff are less likely to appreciate the suffering caused by them, or their punitive actions, or their restrictive regime, and more readily accepting when the prisoners act out, utilising their Mad, Bad or Cool resistance. This enables the antagonists to legitimise their actions and reduces any feelings of shame or guilt (ibid) because not to do so

would mean questioning their own humanity. However, this approach increases the likelihood for aggressive responses from the prisoners for dehumanisation often has catastrophic consequences as prisoners are seen as *social agents* who act upon their situation and respond to it strategically, rather than automatically (Snacken, 1990; Sparks, Bottoms & Hay, 1996). But an effect of such behaviour is that the staff (and the prisoners) actually dehumanise themselves as a consequence of their own actions. Such behaviours, from either group, make them less than human. For when the prisoners utilise their activities of survival, and act in either a Mad, Bad or Cool way, they push the staff to the boundaries of their humanity and then this leads to further dehumanising reprisals from the staff, which in turn requires further demonstrations of power actions from the prisoner. This adds another element to this complex cycle of social interaction within the segregated environment.

Being on the receiving end of such an approach makes them feel (according to some of the prisoners interviewed) less than human, no longer as an individual. Rather they are just one part of a collective of deviants, who have committed some antisocial act(s) against the fabric of the regime, (while having already committed other forms of antisocial act to warrant detention at Her Majesty's Pleasure). This aspect of Lemert's Labelling Theory (Lemert, 1951) sees the recipients of such a dehumanising approach (the prisoners) responding to this self fulfilling prophecy in the way that, if not their usual way of responding to situations, is at least expected of them, 'you think I am, therefore I will be'.

Being Bad:

Bad behaviour (and thus the acquisition of a reputation as a trouble causer or troublesome prisoner) is both a reason for being sent to the segregated environment, as well as being a result of the way a prisoner is treated in segregation. Global, more general outcomes, of the segregation experience differ markedly for both the staff and the prisoners. The prisoners hoped for, desired, outcome (survival) depends upon their ability

to cope with the experience, as well as the strategy(ies) utilised for survival. Both parties have outcomes of segregation that are both desired (through the action of segregation) and accepted (as consequential of the segregation experience). These desired and consequential outcomes can be, as well as having, positive and negative effects upon, prisoners. Upon entering the segregated environment the desired outcomes

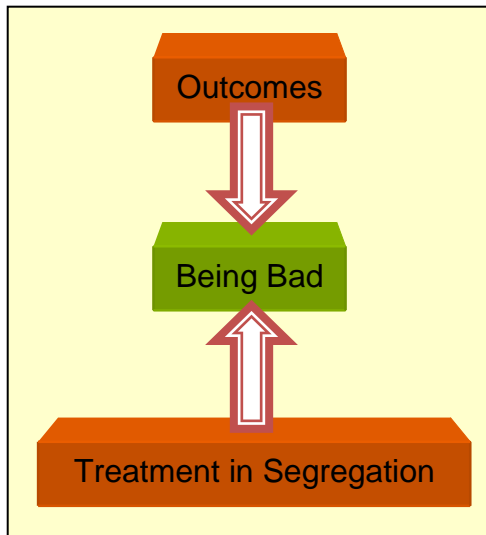


Figure 6:8 - Axial Code Being Bad and Categories

are clearly understood by both the prisoner and staff, that being, to control and reform, or seek reform through control. Control is understood in this situation to include elements of surveillance, punishment, deprivation, and conformity, in fairly equal measures.

The fact that a prisoner's response to segregation is one of rebellion and bad behaviour is, therefore, a consequential outcome. The deterrent factor of this confinement was reported to be effective and time in the segregated environment had a positive effect, that is, the experience of being sent to the segregated environment would (hopefully) never be repeated, *"... Yes! ... all right it's a deterrent ... I spent a couple of hours down there on the Saturday that was a big enough of deterrent for me I thought bugger this I'm not going to end up down here ... and when I got down there on the Monday for adjudication I got 3 days ... and I was a very frightened person ..."* (4/14). While the deterrent factor is a major feature, the prisoner's priority is not about ensuring they are not sent to the segregated environment (thus successful deterrent) it is, in actuality, ensuring they survive the segregated experience once they are there.

The premise that you will be treated in the same fashion and manner as everybody else, as well as the role expected of you and your behaviour, applies to staff as well as prisoners. Attitudes and responses towards

prisoners, whether brutal or humane serve to remind prisoners (and reinforces the fact) that the staff are in control and that prisoners have no power, “... 8 years that this sort of treatment went on ... 8 years of abuse ...” (8/8). This shows that the Prison Officers can choose how to treat a prisoner irrespective of his behaviour, another form of power position. There appears (anecdotally) to be an acceptance between both parties within this environment which is based upon, ‘do unto others what they intend to do to you, but do it before they get chance to do it to you’. This attitude results in situations where prisoners use violent, aggressive, and disruptive behaviour, not only as a means of self expression, or as a method of revenge or retaliation towards the authorities, but also as an active, tangible, way of demonstrating that they are engaged in surviving. Bad, antisocial, anti-establishment behaviour from prisoners elicits an equal response from the staff. This serves to focus the prisoners mind, providing an outlet (which could otherwise be aimed inwards) for the frustrations, tensions, and boredom, created by the segregation experience. The negative consequence of this, however, is that the authority responds with harder, more punitive, measures, and this has the consequence of the prisoner developing a reputation of being a trouble prisoner, that will/could/does damage his chances of leaving segregation. This is a dangerous survival strategy, only to be carried out by those who are capable, and confident of their own abilities, as being crushed by staff is easily achieved, and by those who feel they have nothing to lose, in the greater scheme of things.

Such demonstrations of Being Bad, and the associated bad behaviour while in the segregated environment, range from the relatively low key argumentative and passively antagonistic, through to engaging in major acts of destruction and aggression such as the destruction of a cell, and persistent assaults on staff. The extent to which prisoners express themselves through aggressive, violent, or other antisocial conduct is *directly related* (sic) to the extent to which they have experienced, or are experiencing, violence, and to the extent to which the world that they occupy harms or has harmed them (Godsi, 2004). We underestimate the

impact that material and social environments have upon others in terms of how they respond to difficulties that they face (Godsi, 2004).

Being Mad:

The segregated environment experience is about creating a space for achieving survival. Survival, in all its guises and presentations is a carefully balanced affair, and enacted within the parameters of the main functions of segregation. Apart from serving as a method of punishment, segregation also proposes to remedy behaviour through deterrent and control.

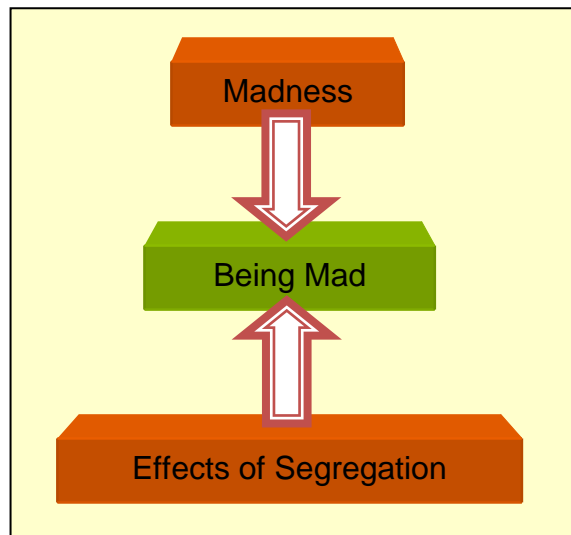


Figure 6:9 - Axial Code Being Mad and Categories

One of the ways that this control can be enforced is through the powerful use of the environment. Such an environment is designed (or has the effect of, deliberately, or otherwise) to break a prisoner's spirit and emotional state, and once this had happened, it is felt he is easier to control by the staff, "... I was back in my cell with the door banged shut behind me ... the old familiar panic seized me involuntarily ... the body knew it was unnatural to be confined like this ... but there was no alternative for me ... however much I disliked it ... however much I couldn't handle it ... I would stay locked up ..." (9/52). However it is a fine line between responding, and reacting, to being the temporary victim of mind games and the (potentially permanent effects of) full blown madness. The worry of any psychological damage is the length of time it will last, and its severity. Will the psychological effects of segregation be permanent or transient, will he suffer worse each time he goes into segregation? "... I wondered what lasting damage all this would do ... to stand aloof from the world, cut off from all caring relationships, would create a cold, uncaring man ..." (9/84).

However, there is the suggestion that the power base actually lies with the prisoner population, and (if you consider the actual number involved) the staff are frighteningly outnumbered, with only organisational power on their side, “... *it is a tinder box ... yeah ...*” (1/264). Despite examples of micro-power, they feel that the only real power they have in the segregated environment is power over themselves and not the environment, nor the situation, and even this is in a very limited fashion. In a situation of limited choices prisoners are left with very few options as to how they can effectively express themselves, or their unhappiness. These are usually at the extremes of normal behaviour, though what is deemed normal in the segregated environment is in itself at extremes to what is considered normal in other social circumstances, “... *until our treatment ... became so bad that we were forced to initiate a series of protests ...*” (3/3). Such examples, as mentioned earlier, include violence (towards the person, or the environment) dirty protest, self harm, suicide, and hunger strike, “... *he replied, ‘I’m on hunger strike’ ...*” (9/60).

It is little wonder then that the incidence of suicide and self injury is disturbingly high as the feeling of loss is, and can be, felt most keenly by individuals who are already emotionally highly charged, or even mentally disturbed (Coyle, 2005). In the context of this study, suicide and self harm are performed for two differing, but connected, reasons. Self injury is used as an action intended to assist in the creation of a survival space by the prisoners, while suicide is seen as the ultimate conclusion of failing to create such a space. This does not, however, detract from the prisoners who, as a consequence of diagnosable clinical mental illness, resort to such self harm behaviours in the throes of their illness. Self harming behaviours are used (in the clinical sense) by people to deal with emotional pain. So we can see how such behaviour can be both a sign of mental instability and a survival strategy to deal with the emotional pain that is likely to be triggered by their time in the segregated environment. Descent into (clinical) madness is a regular fear and feature and is always a potential consequence of such solitary confinement in the segregated

environment. It is unknown how many prisoners develop a clinical mental illness as a result of their segregation experience and subsequent solitary confinement (King, 2005) nor how many already have, or have the likelihood to develop, a mental illness, and therefore bring their mental illnesses with them, to be nurtured and developed fully.

A question remains about the point where the mad antisocial behaviour of being bad meets the bad, antisocial, behaviour of being mad, where does it become difficult, or irrelevant, to differentiate between the two. This type of madness: mad behaviour, is to be understood more in terms of a social madness, one step away from (any) socially derived and perceived norms. These behaviours are, to a large extent, more transient, and therefore less permanent, or debilitating, than pathological mental illness. Yet, this is dangerous territory as this other place, social madness, is just one step away from clearly defined and diagnosable clinical mental illness. As an extension of the notion of Goffman's (1961) official and performing selves, it could be seen as having an 'I, that is not me' (Blumer, 1969) though this 'I', unlike any clinical features of mental illness, is contextual and therefore restricted to the prisoners time in the segregated environment. Such mad, abnormal, behaviour is always closely allied to the (un)acceptable (social and behavioural) norms as defined by the most powerful groups in a given society, in this instance the prison authorities and its representatives. Therefore any deviation from these norms, results in the behaviour being viewed as coming under the guise of diagnostic categories of clinical mental illness (Godsi, 2004).

Some of the methods used, by some of the prisoners, to survive the segregation experience and not succumb to boredom or insanity (for both of these are dangerous to the prisoner) appear, to the outside observer, to be teetering on the edge of madness, *"... and this one night I was covered in bugs ... fucking ants and everything ... and I got sugar water ... and if the ants crossed the sugar water I squished them ... and what I found out was they'd come out of their nest and they'd pick up the dead bodies and take them back to the nest ... and eventually what I did was ... I made a*

little maze of sugar water ... you know dry on either side like a little path with a biscuit at the end ... and all these ants used to go down the sugar water and pick up the crumbs of biscuit and come back ... and if they went either side of the sugar water ... squish ...” (6/19).

There are times and occasions where Being Bad and Being Mad meet each other. This is seen in behaviour which is neither, but both at the same time. Behaviour which serves as rebellious, anti authoritarian in nature, but gauged by everyday norms, is considered mad in its extremeness, for normal people would not carry out such behaviour, and to do this you *would have* to be mad. An immediate example of this is the act of self harm, where there are no pathological indicators or precursors but with some quite distinct outcomes, that is, severe physical damage, or even accidental death. Self harm on these occasions is performed as a survival strategy, as a demonstration of Being Bad and Being Mad at the same time, rather than as an act of any psychological disturbance. In the rare and bizarre environment of segregation, the line between Being Bad and Being Mad is very thin indeed and therefore frequently difficult to differentiate. This could be seen as an example of the Man Must Be Mad⁹ principle (Pilgrim, 2005). Examples (cited by the participants) of the nature and severity of such actions that straddle this thin line range from severe violence and aggression, through acts of self harm (including hunger strike) to the ultimate anti-social act, a Dirty Protest. This act requires the prisoner to totally remove himself, for the duration of the protest, from socially acceptable, and accepted, behaviour and engage in actions which, to all intents and purposes, are signs of, not only social madness, but mental illness.

The dirty protest is probably one (if not *the*) most antisocial, rebellious, and (socially) crazy of protests available to prisoners in segregation. “... *I’ve done one ... I’ve done a dirty ... a dirty protest ... the dirty protest sends*

⁹ Man Must Be Mad – whereby – while somebody is not clinically ‘insane’ (mentally ill) at the time of performing his antisocial behaviour, he must have been (in a socially derived norm sense) mad to have done what he did

you round the twist ... they send you weird ... they proper do you in ... you start laughing at the weirdest shit in the world ... I mean ... you throw ... in a dirty protest you push the shit everywhere ... right ... I mean everywhere ... it's on your body ... it's in your hair ... it's on the ceiling ... it's on the floor ... it's on the walls ... its everywhere ... right ... a lump of shit falls off the ceiling and splats you in the centre of your chest ... right ... you think that's the funniest thing in the world ... trust me ... (7/126). It is the one method of protest that the prisoners can regain and exercise a semblance of control over themselves and their actions, “... Yeah well ... I've been there ... been there ... when there was a dirty protest ... they send you crazy ... don't ever speak to a guy who has just come out of a dirty protest ... don't ever speak to one ... they are crazy ...” (7/124). By definition, it clearly straddles the fine line between madness and badness it is during this act that the prisoner has to ensure he is strong enough, bad enough, and mad enough, to survive the creeping madness that comes with such a vile act, one that is out of the realms of comprehension of the majority of people. “... it's more of mentality ... staying alive ...” (7/440).

Yet such socially bizarre (but contextually pertinent) behaviours are sufficient to ensure a person's survival as they allow the prisoner to continue to create the necessary space. In other situations these strategies would be frowned upon, condemned, or considered to be the acts of a desperate man resorting to desperate measures. But in this unique and bizarre situation they are deemed to be (almost) the norm. Unfortunately though, it is obvious that despite having the ability or strategies to cope with segregation, some people just do not have the strength of character, personality, or mentality to survive this unnatural experience, “... Ah Seg ... you know ... some of them can't handle it mentally ... like I said ... I can hear them crying at night ... they have to talk all night long ... they just can't do the solitude ...” (6/83). When the conditions, and experiences, get too much for the individual prisoner, the desire to submit to them and simply capitulate seems to be the easiest option. However, some prisoners describe that at times like this the instinct (and need) for survival supersedes, “... you'd be surprised ... I always

thought I wouldn't cope but when it happens ... you'd be surprised where you get the strength from to get through it ... yes some days are harder than others ... some days are longer than others ... you'll be surprised ..." (2/316).

Being Cool:

The 3rd strand of survival strategies is the demonstration that no matter what the authorities do to them, prisoners are not affected by it. The fact that a prisoner can be blasé and cool about their segregation experience, the treatment they receive, and the whole

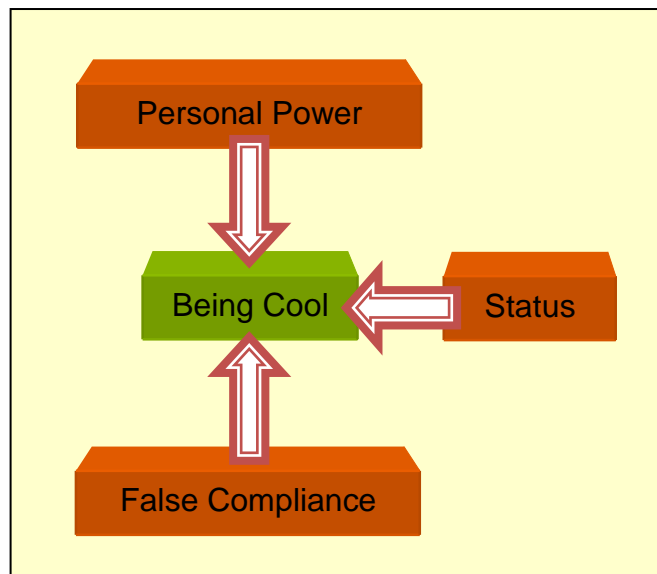


Figure 6:10 - Axial Code Being Cool and Categories

environment, enhances their status, reputation, and social stature, within the wider prison. It is from this disregard for any (and all) adversity, and the ability to rise above it and remain aloof, removed from it all, that legends are born within the prison system. This appears at times to require, some conscious effort on the part of the prisoner, but it is also a feature of those prisoners who see the segregated environment as simply an occupational hazard and just accept the immediate situation. This acceptance enhances their personal power, the power to survive, without resorting to active, anti authoritarian, aggressive acts. Rather, they adopt and undertake passive acts that maintain an aloof independence and by doing so they enhance their status and respect within the prisoner community.

Ultimately, the primary desire of the Prison Service is a quiet, peaceful, and compliant population. However, this is not to be. They are fighting

back, in their individual and collective ways, against a system whose sole intention is to control and punish, and this is demonstrated through their actions of power. Being Mad, Being Bad, or Being Cool, or at least elements of any, or all three, equates to non-compliance. Compliance, from the prisoner's stance, is seen as a bad thing, a sign of weakness, a possible indication that a fellow prisoner is in cahoots with the authorities which is a dangerous situation for a prisoner to be in. Not causing a problem for the authorities, not being a rebel and acting in an anti-social manner, not spending extended periods in the segregated environment, does not, necessarily, mean that a prisoner is compliant. This is actioned in the difference between compliance and false compliance. Utilising false compliance is one of the chosen activities of survival that can be adopted by the prisoner in the segregated environment. Having confidence in, and competence at, exercising false compliance, for some prisoners, reduces the fear of the segregated environment. The prisoner enters the segregated environment utilising the Being Cool action of power, *"... you survive by not letting them know that all you are doing is surviving ... because the worse thing ... the one thing they hate is you smiling ..."* (1/344). Knowing that the staff are aware of the fact that the segregated environment holds no fear for the prisoner increases the prisoner's likelihood of successfully using their innate abilities and powers to survive. It is also a reflection of, and reflects upon, their status and reputation within the prison. This brings with it a confidence that their time in the segregated environment is going to be as effortless as they choose it to be. *"... there are some people who are not afraid to go to the Seg ... not because they are afraid of the Seg ... it's because they will not be used as doormats ... and the staff know it ..."* (1/110). The greater their confidence, the greater their chances of creating a survival space, and the less fear the segregated environment holds for them. It appears that such confidence, and the ability to demonstrate false compliance, comes from their lack of fear, which comes from their innate abilities to use their personal power and therefore enhance their confidence.

For some prisoners in this study the use of segregation was just not a feature in their lives, and certainly did not feature as any form of deterrent, or sanction, worthy of preventing them behaving in a way that resulted in them being sent to the segregated environment as punishment. They felt that being sent there was, and is always going to be, a feature of their lives, a fact of life, and therefore, once they were there they simply made the best of the situation and just get on with doing their time there. Having accepted this as a fact of life, as an eventuality, an inevitability, changes the way a person thinks and views such potentially negative experiences. To some extent this attitude diminishes the descent into clinical madness by reducing the fear of segregation. Some prisoners reported that it stops being a thing of terror, and just becomes part of the everyday feature of life in prison, “... *Seg doesn't ... Seg is an eventuality ... it's not a ... it's not something you can gain anything from ... it's an actual ... it's a talking point ... its nothing else ...*” (7/154).

By way of an example, one prisoner in this study described requiring, on one occasion, a seven man escort when he was being moved from the wings to the segregation unit (which was not the norm). It could be assumed (and it was alluded to on a number of occasions during the interview) that this was a consequence of his reputation as a hard man, a fighter, and the seven man escort was deemed necessary as a preventative measure, as it would take seven Officers to manage him safely and effectively. Alternatively it could be assumed that the authorities believed that not even *he* would fight seven Officers (though the prisoner did claim that he would, if the occasion arose), so the seven man escort was deemed to be a deterrent, rather than a necessity, “... *the doors opened and there was silence on the wing ... and I'm like ... what's going on here ... doors open ... there was an SO ... and a few other screws and I'm thinking ... Oh Fuck what's going on here ... and they said to me ... you are going back to the Seg ... I said ... I haven't been on the wing a day ... what are you doing to me ... and it's like ... 7 staff strong again ... go into the Seg ... get in the Seg cell ...*” (6/135). Yet this prisoner's response to this approach was to remain aloof and ambivalent to the whole situation.

He was aware of the implications of the authorities providing a seven man escort but maintained, or even acquired further, respect by, (a) it being deemed necessary that he required a seven man escort, and, (b) not responding in the manner the escorting staff predicted. At this point the prisoner was not responding to the expectations of him, nor the (perceived) excessive escort, out of any fear of the situation, or the consequences of any retaliation. Rather, he was preparing to engage his segregation experience survival activity of being cool. He was commencing his survival space creating behaviours during the transition period between wing and segregated environment.

Such a blasé, almost ambivalent, approach is a reflection of how the prisoner views the segregated environment in general. This is either borne out of previous (successful) experiences, or a general ambivalence towards the whole internal punishment system, “... *you look at the 4 walls and think fuck ‘em I’m out of here in three days ...*” (1/220), “... *Nah not at all ... it’s just another cell isn’t it basically ...*” (5/25). By Being Cool when undertaking the segregated environment results in it being a positive experience for the prisoner, “... *that’s a good thing ... but you get used to the solitary ... its nice ... its nice ...*” (6/17), “... *I always thought I wouldn’t cope but when it happens ... you’d be surprised where you get the strength from to get through it ...*” (2/316), “... *its peace of mind ... you’re behind your door ...*” (6/81). As with Martel (2006), time becomes a factor, however, this prisoner found it to be non-problematic, “... *I enjoy it ... yeah the time goes so quick ...*” (6/75) and again, as with Martel (2006), personal space was an important feature “... *the Seg is a break ... you can just see it as a break from having the same shit day in day out on the wings ...*” (5/171), “... *I enjoy going down the block every now and again just to get away from the wing to be quite honest ...*” (5/45).

This view of the segregated environment being something other than a place of suffering and misery allowed some prisoners to be quite pragmatic in their Being Cool behaviour. By accepting that, “... *at the end of the day they’re doing their job ... if you don’t give them any trouble you*

don't get none ... you know what I mean ... I just seem to get on with it ..." (5/39) then they can create their survival space without resorting to Being Bad or Being Mad. This sense of pragmatism extended, for one prisoner, to the fact that, as he was a prisoner, then spending time in the segregated environment *"... is an eventuality ..."* (7/154), *"... an occupational hazard ..."* (7/430).

By responding to their segregation experience, the conditions they faced, and the treatment they receive(d), in a manner that was blasé and cool, served to enhance the prisoners' status and reputation within, and once they return to, the wider prison network. This may, to some extent, appear to require a greater conscious effort on the part of the prisoner, which may well be true, for the prisoners in this study both agreed with, and refuted, this. Yet some prisoners see segregation as being time for them, and therefore requires no acts of resistance or antisocial behaviour, no acts of mad, or bad, rebellion (but also no acts of conformity and compliance), just acceptance of the immediate situation, in a time of mindfulness and internal contemplation. Yet even these prisoners need to survive the segregated environment, and it is this acceptance that segregation is an acceptable inevitability that underpins their Being Cool survival space behaviours. Such acceptance enhances their power, the power to create a space to achieve survival without resorting to active anti-authoritarian, aggressive acts, or plummeting into madness (social or clinical), rather responding with simple, passive, aloof, acts of independence, and demonstrations of power.

This does not infer or imply that these prisoners simply complied with the segregated environment regime. They continued to resist all attempts at conformity and treated them with an air of contempt and disregard, *"... it doesn't bother me anymore ..."* (7/16), *"... it was nothing ..."* (7/88) preferring to remain ambivalent, detached and Being Cool rather than Being Mad or Being Bad. This may have been an extension of their personalities, or a conscious decision, or just a personal preference of how

they wished to utilise and enhance their personal power to create a space necessary for survival.

Whether prisoners are living out their segregated environment experience by Being Mad, Being Bad or Being Cool there continues to be a need for authoritarian control. Some sections of the population (in wider society as well as prison) need to be controlled for their own sake, on behalf of the rest of society, or for the continued survival of the regime (Godsi, 2004). Some challenging prisoner behaviour could more commonly be seen as the product of variously problematic institutional conditions that promote it (Steinke, 1991; Bottoms, Hay & Sparks, 1995). This contextual view of behaviour would lead us to consider the harmful, long term, consequences of placing prisoners in debilitating and controlling regimes of confinement such as this (Haney & Lynch, 1997; Haney, 2003). Therefore, the inclination towards viewing certain postures, actions and behaviours as *inevitable* (sic) responses (McEvoy, 2001) to being within a confined, segregated, environment, can at times obscure some important institutional dynamics. For example, and importantly so within the segregated environment, the way in which power is administered, and the way in which internal flows of power interact with external political, economical, sociological, and ideological forces. Even acts of self harm may be seen as strategic and knowing acts of resistance (and coping), which are rooted in moral and political indignation, rather than as passive admissions of defeat (Giroux, 1983; Liebling & Krarup, 1993).

This brings to a conclusion the chapters relating to the overall substantive theory, its construction and composition.

In the next chapter, the discussion offered will explore power as a theoretical concept to gain an understanding of the issues and concepts that are applicable to the prisoner. Just as there is no one definite, or definitive, explanation of how a prisoner reframes contextual power, there is no one definitive definition, or understanding, of power that is applicable

to this study and its substantive theory. The next chapter will explore the notion that no one single position of power can effectively account for the prisoner's main concern of creating a space necessary for survival through the reframing of contextual power. To this end it will discuss an integrated approach to defining, and applying, power in an attempt to explicate the reality of power within the segregated environment.

Chapter 7

Discussion

“The more original a discovery, the more obvious it seems afterwards”.
(Arthur Koestler, 1905-1983)

Introduction

This chapter explicates the theoretical aspects of power within the segregated environment within the context of this substantive theory and thesis as described and understood by the prisoners as they *reframe contextual power* in order to achieve survival.

While a number of philosophical, sociological, and academic explorations of power, its application, use and effect, have been provided over the years, no one definite or definitive theory of approach can sufficiently help to explore adequately, precisely, effectively, or succinctly explain, power, or convey the essence and reality of this current context of a Category A Prison Segregation Unit, as related to and relayed through the experiences of the prisoner. To this end an integrated approach to viewing, and understanding, power in this context and environment is required. This is drawn from a number of leading theorists to help explicate, illustrate, and understand how the prisoners reframe contextual power.

So therefore this chapter offers an overview of the relevant and appropriate work of theorists, and show how this is applicable to this thesis, substantive theory, and sample site. The theorists to be explored in terms of defining and underpinning this explication are Foucault, Deleuze & Guattari, Goffman, and Lukes (and with a little help from Wittgenstein).

Power, is a word often used, yet the meaning tends to “dissolve entirely when we look at it” (Morriss, 2002, p1). Though in its more general sense,

power is the production of causal effects. It is the “bringing about of consequences” (Lukes, 1978, p634). Dahl (1968) reminds us that it is important to distinguish between *exercising* and *holding* (original emphasis, SDK). There is an abundance of literature available in relation to the concept of power from numerous perspectives: philosophical, academic, religious, sociological, health related, to name but a few. These provide multiple meanings, and often conflicting, theories each derived from differing perspectives and disciplines (Masterson & Owen, 2006).

A definition of power provided by Brookes, Munro, O'Donoghue, et al, (2004) describes power as “control and influence exercised over others” (p937) though this is illustrative of the concept of power over or crude power, coercive power. Dahl, (1957) proposed the following definition of power: “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do” (p202). While Wartenberg (1988) presents the case that power is not only exercised, it is also possessed. The fact that some people(s) in any society possess power over other people(s) is an important fact and cannot be “deduced to the fact that such power was actually exercised by the people(s) in question” (p9). Weber (1978) defined power as being able to impose your will on others, even if they are resistant. This notion also implied that the amount of power is fixed, so some people have power at the expense of others. However, it is obvious that these definitions of power (the juridico-discursive model), are but one viewpoint. This particular model of power involves three basic assumptions. Firstly, that power is possessed (for instance, by the individuals in the state, by the people). Secondly, that power flows from a centralised source from the top to bottom (for instance, law, the economy, the state). Finally that power is primarily repressive in its exercise (for instance, a prohibition backed by sanctions) (Sawacki, 1991). In this model power is assumed to be exercised as “interdiction and repression in a framework of law and legality resting ultimately on the problem of sovereignty” (Lemke, 2005, p3). Yet this is one which may appear to be appropriate and relevant to the segregated environment, to the point where it could be seen as it should be the exclusive way of

understanding power, due to its obviousness. This is not the case, for the prisoners, during their discussions which resulted in this substantive theory, and the core category of reframing contextual power, described other aspects of power as will become evident during the following chapter. Hence this unique research concludes with a discussion and demonstration of how, to understand further the prisoner's conceptualisation of reframing contextual power, a more sophisticated, integrated view of power is necessary.

Within the wider context of the prison, and this obviously includes the segregated environment, power operates through the application and enforcement of the rules and regulations of Her Majesty's Prison Service. However, some officers differentiate between power and authority (Crawley, 2004) viewing authority specifically as something to be "acquired through the process of interaction with prisoners" (p24). They do not necessarily feel that they have authority simply because they wear a Prison Service uniform, or because they have rules to fall back upon. Power, based on authority (Sykes, 1958) is "a complex social relationship in which an individual or group of individuals is recognised as possessing a right to issue commands or regulations and those who receive those demands or regulations feel compelled to obey by a sense of duty" (p46). It is an acknowledged fact that the interactions between officer and prisoner are regulated by a mutual understanding of the fact that power in prisons is often negotiated, with Prison Officers having much less power, and prisoners rather more, than is often pretended or expected (Crawley, 2004).

Officers previously have had significant collective power and were strict in its deployment in the everyday life in the prison. However, over the years, this power has diminished and been re-dispersed upwards, towards senior managers (Liebling, 2004). As a consequence, administrative decisions feel out of reach to prisoners (Crewe, 2005), however, they have more scope to "take responsibility for the terms of their incarceration, and there is less need for direct confrontation" with the prison officers (ibid, p195).

Yet the balance of the power is predominantly in the direction of, and favouring, the Prison authority and the Prison Officers. What remains is that officers have significant discretionary power at an individual prisoner level, but are responsible for far fewer of the issues that previously impacted upon prisoners as a collective (ibid). It is felt (Crawley, 2004) that the Prison Officers are not in a particularly powerful position as they encounter a range of pressures towards compromise and accommodation. In terms of the enforcement of the Prison Service rules every officer has their own way of controlling prisoners (Crawley, 2006).

It is proposed (ibid) that there are two ways of routinely maintaining control, informally and formally. The informal way necessitates that the Prison Officer use his, or her, individual personality. Some “use humour, while some command respect based on their reputation for being firm but fair and calm under pressure” (ibid, p219). The formal way, in contrast, involves routinely ‘nicking’ prisoners for every infraction of the rules. Many Officers prefer informal methods, for this not only obviates the need for paperwork, but having the ability, and choosing, to deal with infractions and confrontations informally becomes a matter of honour and pride for that officer, and enhances his respect and authority with the prisoners (Crawley, 2006). Providing, or creating, a humane and caring environment (as well as a secure, safe and ordered one) involves a (cognitive, emotional and behavioural) (Arnold, 2005)) balancing act by officers, and necessitates that, “through emotional control, and behavioural regulation, an equilibrium is reached between becoming too involved or too detached” (ibid, p415). This balance (Crawley, 2006), and as consequence, control and order, is achieved most successfully through positive staff-prisoner relationships.

Through their training and probationary period Prison Officers are socialised into the culture of the prison which shapes their knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours, within the power context. Throughout the training period the concepts of “maintaining a ‘duty of care’” (Arnold, 2005, p399), as well as respect and decency, are regularly cited in the context of

working relationships. Security aspects, and the need to maintain physical and dynamic security (through relationships) are emphasised over and above all else as a critical occupational norm (ibid). To become a Prison Officer it is not enough to simply “put on the uniform; they must learn to wear it” (Crawley, 2004, p92). This is achieved not only through learning the prison rules, routines, working practices, the procedures, the norms of the occupational culture, the craft rules of the job and the feeling rules of the prison (ibid). But officers must both know, and embody them, and by doing so they acquire the working personality of the Prison Officer. This involves a way of being, such that the Prison Officer can be described as “an ‘achievement’ or ‘process’ produced over time” (ibid, p92). The culture of the Prison Officer consists of basic assumptions and beliefs, representing a shared construction of social reality learnt via shared social experience (Sackmann, 1991). Culture binds people together: it provides “labels (a language), and categories (rules), accounts of *how* things are done, accounts of how they *should* be done in certain situations, and a set of assumptions about *why* this is the case” (Herbert, 1986, p345). It is through this that the power of Her Majesty’s Prison Service is operationalised.

Faced with the realisation of the power imbalance within the prison leads many prisoners to feel that is nothing much that can be done about that particular predicament (Crewe, 2007). This distinction between power that is “accepted-as-legitimate and power that is taken-for-granted is crucial” (Carrabine, 2005, p908). Not least in that it would be a mistake to interpret an absence of challenges to institutional authority as an indication of normative consent. It is through such challenges to authority, within the context of the segregated environment that the prisoner commences to reframe power and thus create a space to enable him to survive this particular experience.

Power within the segregated environment, comes from two forces, the prisoner and the authority. These invariably meet head on, and lock horns in immediate confrontation. Such confrontation is based on the premise

that one set of ideals, beliefs, and behaviours come into conflict with, and against, another. In this sense it is the beliefs and ideals of prisoners that come into conflict with those of the authority. While one set of ideals (rules) set out to control, through compliancy and conformity, and the application and demonstration of power, the other seeks to survive this, through maintaining as much autonomy and personal freedom as is possible (no matter how little that may be). The ideals and belief systems coming into conflict are the rules binding their behaviours, the behaviours of authority and domination, and the behaviours of resistance and survival.

Paul-Michel Foucault:

Foucault's (1977) discussion of power is central to *'Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison'*. He states that power is a strategy, a game not consciously played by individuals, but one that operates within the machinery of the prison society. Power affects everyone from the prisoner to the Prison Officer, but no one individual can control it. Power is a strategy, not a property but a strategic event in the relations between people. Power relations operate and exist through people. We need to realise that power and knowledge are related. We should think of the body politic as a series of routes and weapons by which power operates.

Foucault (1978) suggested that in the traditional way of thinking about power (the juridico-discursive model above) it is possessed and considered to be a commodity. He does not deny that the juridico-discursive model of power describes one form of power. He merely thinks that it does not capture those forms of power that make "centralised, repressive forms of power possible, namely, the myriad of power relations at the micro level" (Sawicki, 1991, p20). Foucault's (1977) own theory of power differs from the traditional model in three basic ways: that power is exercised rather than possessed, that power is not primarily repressive, but productive, and that power is analysed as coming from the bottom up. This disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977) is a body of practical techniques

to which knowledge is linked, and which is exercised in social relationships. Unlike the traditional conceptualisation of power, which is mainly repressive or subtractive, disciplinary power is essentially productive. One of the main functions of disciplinary power is to construct and produce certain types of people, and to allow certain every-day practices in relation to them (Boyle, 1996). Disciplinary power has three elements: hierarchical observation, normalising judgment, and examination. By these processes, and through the human sciences, the notion of the norm developed. In the abnormal setting of a prison the notion of normative behaviours are purely contextual for whilst societal norms and values underpin and reflect the work of the authorities, the prisoner population has its own set of normative parameters, the prisoner code of conduct (Crewe, 2007). Such normative behaviour is relevant to, and created by, the prisoners and as such any abnormal, non-normative behaviour, is not only negating societal norms, but also the contextual, micro social penal system norms of the prisoner's world. These are the behaviours often seen by the prisoners in the segregated environment as they utilise their actions of power and endeavour to survive that experience.

The discussion of the norm revisits the point made by Foucault when he stated that discussion in judicial circles (1977) regarding the status of judgment changed in the pre-modern period. Declarations of normative behaviour now involve an arbitrary standard which society is observed and measured against. What is normal is good, and what is abnormal is bad, and therefore must be corrected. For Foucault, (ibid) the norm is an entirely negative and harmful idea that allows the oppression and silencing of deviants and the abnormal.

Foucault's conception of power is of a relationship between people (Foucault, 1977) in which one affects another's actions. Power is present in all human relationships, and penetrates throughout society. Foucault (ibid) states that power is conceptualised as a relation between forces, "the moving substrate of force relations which, by virtue of their inequality,

constantly engender states of power ... [that] are always local and unstable" (p93). The state does not have a monopoly over power, because power relations are deeply unstable and changeable. He (Foucault, 1980) stated that power "is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation" (p98), and individuals "are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power" (ibid). They are "not only its inert or consenting target, they are always also the element of its articulation" (ibid). He was making the point that in everyday articulations of power (as in the segregated environment) the power that Prison Officers (as exploiters and oppressors) and prisoners (as exploited and oppressed) held was part of their mutual relationship, which he terms as conditioning. The Prison Officers have the power to seek and demand conformity, compliance, and good behaviour through dominance and oppression, and control of the regime they controlled. The prisoners have the power to survive through their defining and actioning of survival behaviours, behaviours of resistance, yet any need to resort to a show of force is evidence of a lack of power. This is what Foucault meant when he described power as capillary. He stressed that most people are agents of, and not just passive victims of, the powerful few. The dominated are as much part of the network (of capillaries) of power relations and the particular social matrix as the dominating (Hoy, 1986). No regime, no matter how authoritarian, succeeds in maintaining itself *simply* through repressive methods. Repression may be necessary but it is almost never sufficient to maintain stability.

Routledge (1997) states that the practices of resistance have no definitive features in, and of, themselves but are defined through their oppositional relationship to power. Practices become resistant when they respond to a dominant ideology, practices of "resistance cannot be separated from practices of domination: they are always entangled in some configuration" (p361). Foucault (1978) says that "where there is power, there is resistance", and yet, or as a mutual condition of, this "resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (p95). Yet, Hartmann (2003) refutes this when he states that the problem with this is that

“resistance becomes entirely reactive or merely a reaction-to-power and not a positive action on its own terms” (p4). However, in the fight for survival, the prisoner in the segregated environment *does* make resistance into a positive action, a very personal and positive action, whilst at the same time being a reaction-to-power, to the effects of the power he is being subjected to. If power operates in terms of the conduct of conduct, or in the modification of action by action, then a person (prisoner) can positively resist power through the testing of the limits of domination and subjection. Similarly, accepting the conduct-on-conduct stance, prisoners also demonstrate their power (which has been reframed contextually) through their responses to the conduct of the Prison Officers. So a circle of conduct-on-conduct, power-on-power, commences. One group responds with displays, and actions, of power and survival, to the actions and behaviours of the other.

Foucault distinguished between repressive (Her Majesty’s Prison Service) and productive power (the actions of the prisoners in the segregated environment). He claims that the juridical theory was too centred on the notion of repression and was thereby obscuring the productive side of power (Foucault, 1980; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). Minson (1985) refers to Foucault’s symbiotic concept of the relationship between power and its target, as focussing on the “mutually informing and determining nature of the relationships between a way of exercising power and its objects” (p47). Power therefore, for Foucault, is often exercised in such a way as to create, or produce, forms of resistance, knowledge, and actions.

Disciplinary power

For Foucault, the body becomes a productive force through the emergence of disciplines with specific knowledge’s, and associated technologies. Through his exploration of disciplinary power Foucault explains how observation is a mechanism that can be used to force a person to do something by being constantly observed. Exercising power in this way reduces individuals to the status of objects, and the body

becomes disciplined, and placed under surveillance through the aforementioned interrelated processes of hierarchical observation, normalising judgements, and examination. These are all activities that occur within the segregated environment. “Disciplinary power is exercised through its invisibility, at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects, a principle of compulsory visibility. In discipline it is the subjects who have to be seen” (Foucault, 1978, p187). As the power, and methods of enforcing it in the segregated environment are visible and the subjects are kept invisible, implies that this is not an example of disciplinary power, rather Foucault would say that this is crude and coercive power.

For Foucault, discipline creates individuals out of a collective mass, for the individual could exist only when groups were created. Creating the individual out of the group contradicts the common philosophical view about the creation of society. The group was not created from individuals, but vice versa. Within the segregated environment the visibility of the individual prisoner is highlighted, for he is identified, observed, and scrutinised whilst in that environment. The individual is a modern invention (Foucault, 1977) and is a construction of power and in this context the individual is the recipient of attempts to become a docile body. In the segregated environment, maintenance of the prisoner as an individual entity, with no affiliations to other prisoners in the segregated environment, or part of any (segregated environment) group collective, is imperative as a method of control. He is taken out of the collective mass of the prisoner society and it is here that he becomes an individual through the mechanisms of discipline and control. He is ultimately returned to the collective a reformed character, and thus acts as a warning to the mass of the consequences that will occur should they strive to be individualistic. So, the prisoner is removed from the collective for acts of (predominantly anti social) individuality, he is isolated, yet he joins the micro collective of segregation where all are being disciplined as a collective, but interacted with, and controlled, as an individual by an individual methodology dependent upon his perceived requirements to conform. He is then returned to rejoin the collective, reformed and controlled, thus making it

easier to control the wider collective mass of the (prison) population. This has a paradoxical positive effect for the individual prisoner in that he now has the opportunity to gain, or enhance existing, respect and reputation, and his sense of individuality is heightened (or even created in some cases) by the amount of respect and reputation he gains.

Having been highlighted as an individual, and removed to segregation, he is subjected to a process of compliance and conformity designed to remove his individuality tendencies. The prisoner, then strives, in any way he can, in any way possible to him, to maintain his individuality through the creation of a space to achieve survival of the segregated environment. For maintenance, and protection, of his individuality will ensure his survival. But for Foucault the individual is a harmful device constructed by power. The more abnormal and excluded you are, the more individual you become. Individuality is the mark of the mental patient and the convict. It has nothing to do with taking control over one's own life (Foucault, 1977). However, this conflicts and disagrees, with the prisoners in this study, for whom individuality, and its maintenance, and protection, is imperative within the segregated environment. This divergence from Foucault's theories demonstrates why no one approach to understanding power is appropriate for this study.

..... and surveillance

Discipline operates by a calculated gaze, not by force. Foucault's discourse on observation, within disciplinary power, utilises Bentham's concept of the Panopticon to illustrate this efficient, and effective, form of power (Foucault, 1977). The panoptic surveillance techniques adopted illustrate that the purpose of the establishment is attained by the perceived constant scrutiny of those being observed (Holmes, 2001) as "the exercise of discipline requires a device that constrains by the game of the gaze" (Foucault, 1977, p80). Foucault's (1977) analysis illustrates the disciplinary power of the imaginary gaze, "a real subjection is born mechanically from a fictitious relation", (p202) whereby whether observation is occurring or

not, those being observed regulate their thoughts and actions and voluntarily become self-disciplined (Scott, 2001) or “docile bodies” (Foucault, 1977, p136). In the segregated environment the potential for, or the threat of, surveillance, is constant. The prisoner has no means available to avoid being observed at any, and all, times. There is inherently no routine or regularity to this, so, in the spirit of the panopticon, the prisoners have no notion of when, or if, they are being observed until they are aware of it actually happening. The exception to this invisible gaze is when they are out of their cells undertaking one of the few activities they are permitted. At these times the observation, surveillance, is blatant and a major feature of the relationship between the prisoner and Prison Officer. Being scrutinised while bathing or exercising or making a telephone conversation is one power aspect of their relationship. The opportunities are here to utilise their activities of survival in a reciprocal manner. However, the threat, or actuality of, the panoptic gaze, of which Foucault (1977), said, “visibility is a trap” (p200) does not prevent the prisoner from utilising his chosen action(s) of power to create his survival space. Foucault's point is that you can be coerced, or forced, to do something by being observed constantly. The potential for creating docile bodies through surveillance had an impact on the majority of the prisoners interviewed in this study. Being under surveillance was an integral part of what drove them to concentrate their thoughts and efforts on creating a space for survival, through reframing contextual power which takes the stance of resisting all attempts to be made into a docile body.

One of the notions of Foucault's later work (eg: Foucault, 1978), that resonates with this study, is the idea that surveillance can be extended to such a degree that individuals can be persuaded, in principle, to gaze at themselves, encouraging them to monitor themselves, and then even to confess their own behaviour to the professional expert, the prison authority. Such self surveillance, in its most purest and direct form, is not carried out by the individual prisoner on themselves, rather it is a feature within the micro-sphere of the prisoner world governed by their code of conduct and ethics (Crewe, 2007). While they do not turn the gaze upon

themselves as individuals nor confess all, or any, of their indiscretions to the authorities, they do ensure that their peers maintain cohesion and conformity to prisoner ethics by inverse surveillance. Any, and all, transgressions or deviations from these codes and ethics by prisoners are reported or made known to peers higher up the hierarchical ladder, by fellow prisoners, or pointed out to the individual prisoner (depending upon the severity and nature of the transgression) especially if it compromises the collective strength of the prisoner population.

Docile Bodies

Discipline creates individuality out of the bodies that it controls (Foucault, 1977) thus docility is achieved through the actions of discipline, which, as we have seen, is different to force or violence as it is a way of controlling the operations, and positions, of the body (ibid). The operations of disciplinary power include at their centre, observation. The body is the subject of attention. Now, however, the body is not subject to torture but to forces of discipline and control. This resonates with Foucault's sovereign power whereby any person who violates the law of the state (the prison) must receive punishment (adjudicated and sent to segregation). Whilst public executions no longer occur, its spirit and rationale continues. The executioner (ibid) has become, in the context of this study, the Segregation Unit Prison Officers though the rationale (as mentioned earlier) remains the same. This is to "create fear, and discourage further crimes by the citizens" (ibid, p9) the citizens of the wider prison setting. Foucault (ibid) reminds us that individual bodies are created out of a group, through observation, and comparisons are continually made to a norm of average behaviour. Through none conformity to normative standards of behaviour the individual is controlled, subjected, used, transformed and improved. The modality of control implies uninterrupted, constant, coercion, which when exercised partitions time and space, a fact noted by Martel (2006). These methods are the disciplines, the ways of controlling the operations of the body, which impose a relation of docility-utility. A policy of coercion that acts on the body is formed. The human

body enters a machinery that explores, and rearranges, it. A political anatomy and a mechanics of power were slowly born (ibid).

And thus docile bodies are sought, sought to be created, and created. However, this was not always the case with the prisoners in this study. For the more they were, or felt that they were being, subjugated, controlled, and coerced, the more they felt that their individuality was being eroded, the more they resorted to, and utilised, their actions of power in order to survive this. This resistance to docility took the form of any of their range of activities of survival. By negating, in an active sense, the enforcement of the docile body (Foucault, 1977) permits the prisoner to maintain their own individual, control (regardless of how limited) over their operations. This commenced the moment the prisoner entered the segregated environment and following the prisoner Code of Conduct (Crewe, 2007) and emergent rules, engage in activities that prevent the erosion of individuality and ensure that they achieve their main concern, their desire, to survive the segregated experience.

Governmentality

Foucault (1982) provides a different conceptualisation of the nature, existence, and exercise of, power and illustrates the different ways in which human beings are “made subjects” (p208). The operation of power throughout modern European history or “governmentality” (Foucault, 2000, p200) is illustrated in terms of truth and power, rather than through scientific or ideological philosophies, and determines that procedures and techniques are designed by the state to govern the conduct of individuals and populations at all levels. He suggests that each society (in the case of this work, the segregated environment) creates a “regime of truth” (Foucault, 1980, p130) according to its values, beliefs, customs, and norms, whereby truth is the construct of political and economic forces that, through systems of power, produces and sustains specific identities.

Governmentality (or perhaps govern-mentality - the mental capacity to self govern, or even, the ability to govern your own mentality - SDK) is not only about what is done to a person (the prisoner being subject to the authority's power, language, control, and rules) but also about what a person can do for, or to, themselves (how the prisoner counters the effects of the fixed rules by following the tenets of the emergent rules, and ultimately the actions and behaviours utilised to create the space necessary for survival). Foucault (1985) stated that this was about the power practiced on oneself (govern-mentality) as well as on others (governmentality). This notion of governmentality encompasses the techniques and procedures, the rules and regulations, the punishments and rewards used. Within this study the actions that govern the conduct of the individual, as well as the collective, are underpinned by both fixed and emergent rules, and has two aspects, each are functioning in the same way but on, and by, different populations.

At this stage, governmentality, in the context of this study, diverges. One facet belongs to the authority and their strategic panoptic gaze of surveillance (Foucault, 1977) that is utilised when controlling the prisoners. Any infringement or detour from strict adherence to the fixed rules is observed, and ultimately results in (further) sanctions. This strategic panoptic gaze (though not the sanctions attached to it) is part of the authorities desire to create docile bodies (ibid) or (further) mortification of the self (Goffman, 1961). Conversely, the second facet comes from the prisoner's united and uniform adherence to the emergent rules. The prisoners, in their necessity to comply with these, create their own inwardly directed micro-panoptic gaze, and thus become self regulating through self surveillance. The actions of observation are the same, the response to impose sanctions is also quick and this, paradoxically, has a very similar effect, a self regulating, self created, docile body within a micro-society. Contrary to the aims of the authority created docile body: an individual who is controlled and compliant to the authority, the prisoner created docile body is somebody who will not oppose their peers nor collude with the staff. They will, for fear of the retribution of their peers, remain passively

non-conformist while being passively conformist at the same time, a fine paradoxical line to tread. They will comply with the fixed rules to a very limited extent, though sufficient enough to not be considered anti authoritarian or anti social, while *being* anti authoritarian and anti social by not embracing these prescriptive tenets sufficiently to be accused (by their peers) of becoming part of the system, or seen by authority figures as someone who could be used against his peers (collusion). While doing this the prisoner is acknowledging and conforming to the emergent rules, ensuring that he does not breach any social etiquette, rules, or commit a faux pas, which could result in social suicide if he is seen to be opposing his peers. While this is, in broad terms, describing relationships within normal location on the wings, this is also very applicable to the prisoner's time in the segregated environment. To collude, or to be actively conformist, is to not survive the segregated environment. The prisoner may physically survive the experience but their individuality, reputation, and hierarchical peer respect is at stake.

The Body & Soul

The body-soul shift is central to *Discipline and Punish*. For Foucault (1977) the body has a real existence, but the modern soul is a recent invention. He says (ibid) that in the contemporary penal system, the body is arranged, regulated, and supervised, rather than tortured (and the (alleged) beatings that take place in the segregated environment by the staff can be seen to be crude power, akin to torture). The overall aim has become the reformation of the soul, rather than the punishment of the body. Within the idea of the soul, concepts of the psyche, personality, and consciousness are held.

In this current study the notion of the Foucauldian soul is equitable to the prisoner's perception of individuality, and it is this that they are trying to protect and preserve through creating a space to allow survival to occur for it is their individuality that is at stake within the confines of the segregated environment.

Space (and time)

The organisation of individuals in space works according to certain organisational rules and imperatives. Time is equally divided up like space. The control of space and time is essential to Foucault's disciplinary system (Foucault, 1977) because they are the most basic elements of human life. Regulating these has an effect on the way in which people act and think, it is a particularly deep and effective strategy, particularly when it affects the way that the individual experiences them.

Foucault (1977) discusses the idea of the body being part of a machine. This is a development of the division of time and space. In this sense, Foucault claims, the body becomes a cog in a machine. If this is the case, and the prisoners are part of the prison machine, then can those prisoners in the segregated environment be seen as broken parts of the larger machine, and that they are there for repair?

Space is physical and tangible within the penal system, and within the context of Foucault's discussion. This has obvious relevance to this study as well as, as already stated, to Martel (2006). He refers to confinement in a limited, controlled, restricted space as part of the controlling disciplinary process. Whilst this is true within this study, the austere and controlling environment and regime of the segregated environment, it is the creation of a conceptual space that allows the prisoner to survive this experience that is the result of their reframing of contextual power (as discussed at length earlier in this thesis).

Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari:

Foucault (1977) states that power is conceptualised as a relationship between forces that are "always local and unstable" (p93). This relationally determined power is at variance within this study by its emphasis on the

more appropriate 'power to be' as offered by Deleuze & Guattari (1988). By removing the focus of the usage of power from the relationship between prisoner and authority, and placing it firmly in the prisoner's hands, allows them the opportunity to create the space necessary to achieve survival and by utilising their inherent 'power to be' prisoners enter a state of 'becoming' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988; Stagoll, 2005). This is the "pure movement evident in changes *between* (original emphasis, SDK) particular events" (ibid, p21). So, therefore, Deleuze & Guattari's 'becoming' functions, and becomes evident, at two levels. Firstly, there is the transition from macro to micro social contexts as the prisoners move from being a member of the wider community and engage with the segregated environment experience. Becoming also occurs as they begin to reframe contextual power and utilise their action(s) of power, their power to be, to enable them to adapt to, and survive, the segregated environment through the creation of a survival space.

It could be assumed that Foucault's reciprocal power relationship is the most appropriate approach to understand power within the segregated environment. Yet it does not offer an effective, nor sophisticated, understanding of the processes that occur when the prisoners reframe contextual power through their behaviours of survival. A more erudite understanding is through the work of Deleuze & Guattari's (1984) 'desire' and the 'desire to become' or 'desire to other', for they are desiring to survive the segregated environment and prepared to become a different version of themselves to achieve this.

Power is an individual affair (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). They say that, while Foucault (1977) talked about power over, and how it was interactive, they (Deleuze & Guattari) felt that power was individual and that people had the 'power to be' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988; Colebrook, 2005). Deleuze & Guattari, critical of Foucault's use of the word, power, preferred their own, desire, which they see as creating relations through which power might operate (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988; Colebrook, 2005). In this sense power is positive, in that there are not people who *have* the power

to act (original emphasis), nor who suffer *from* power, it is not repressive nor something we suffer from (ibid). Rather a person is the embodiment of their power and they are characterised by what they, and that power, can do. The prisoner's social standing in the prison is based (as stated earlier in this work) by the respect they receive from both their peers and the Prison Officers. This respect is based upon their reputation for enduring the ordeals of prison, as well as their position in the prison hierarchy. Surviving the segregated experience successfully, irrespective of their chosen strategy, and the associated range of actions and behaviours that constituted the creation of their survival space, gains additional respect for the prisoner. The more they can utilise their power activities of survival, and maintain their individuality and autonomy, then the more successfully they have survived. Thus survival is the utilisation of power, and the prisoner then becomes respected for that power, and becomes characterised by, and for, it. The action of power utilised (Being Mad, Being Bad, or Being Cool) its presentation and behaviours, was not a response (resistance or retaliation) to power being exerted upon them by the authorities, rather it is the utilisation of Deleuze & Guattari's (1984, 1988) power to be. This echoes the further distinction by Deleuze & Guattari (1988; Colebrook, 2005) between active and reactive power.

The prisoner utilising active power maximises their (power) potential and in doing so allows it (power) and them (the prisoner) to push themselves to their limits (of behaviour and endurance). By doing so this (re)affirms its, and theirs, existence in which they (power and the prisoner) are inextricably linked through acts of passive and active resistance against the oppression they are encountering in the segregated environment. Resistance against authority, from a Deleuze & Guattarian stance (1988), is not an oppositional stance per se, rather it is a creative process. In this case designed to create the space necessary to achieve survival through the inscribing of a different version of self; themselves. Resistance through the prisoner's strategies of reframing contextual power is a feature of the Body without Organs (BwO) (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, 1988; Deleuze, 1990; Message, 2005) escaping from the (attempted) territorialisation of

compliance and conformity, and reterritorialising into a space necessary for survival.

This process of the Body without Organs (BwO) is “directed towards a course of continual becoming” (Message, 2005, p33). In the context of this study, it constitutes the activities essential to create a survival space. Yet this process, this BwO, cannot break free from the system that it desires to escape from (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, 1988; Deleuze, 1990; Message, 2005) and this is illustrative of the contextual nature of becoming. The ‘becoming’, and the creation of a space necessary to achieve survival through individual ‘power to be’, is specific only to the segregated environment and to that individual prisoner. So while Foucault’s docile body (Foucault, 1977) can be seen as the consequential end product of a process which results in the powerless, compliant, disenfranchised, prisoner, the BwO is a dynamic process with tangible and visible manifestations which results in a prisoner who has adapted and survives.

The Body without Organs is also defined as a political surface upon which are inscribed discourses (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, 1988) such as the prison authority inscribing the body with a discourse subscribing to the fact that all prisoners are violent, incorrigible, and require control and discipline. The body is territorialised by such discourses, not only by the expert knowledge of professionals (the prison authority) but also through the lay knowledge of others (invariably perpetuated by the media and its univocal victim perspective of reporting). The importance of the idea of the BwO for this study lies in its role as a site of resistance. It emphasises the possibility that people can challenge dominant discourses rather than always submissively accepting exactly what they are told. This possibility of resistance to discourses of power and knowledge is also fundamental to Foucault’s position (Martin, 1988). As the BwO is continuously subjected to inscription, by often conflicting discourses, it is not passive, but active. This dynamic attribute of the BwO is reflective of the dynamic nature of the actions that the prisoners collectively undertake when creating a space for survival. They are proactive, dynamic, and resistive to the authority.

Though (as already stated) resistance per se is not their primary objective, survival is. In the sense of the BwO being the process of survival, or at least a process of striving to achieve survival, it can be seen to be a “dynamic struggle” (Fox, 2002, p352) and therefore the BwO may be considered as *territory* (original emphasis SDK), constantly contested and fought over. The BwO is the site of resistance (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, 1988) and refusal (to conform and comply, and not survive the segregated environment experience) and is thus continually constructed and reconstructed (territorialised (ibid)) through the prisoner’s activities for survival necessary to create a survival space. The BwO links (and allows the interpenetration of) psychic experience with the forces of society and nature (ibid) creating a sense of self, and the potential to resist such social forces. Deleuze & Guattari’s BwO therefore is clearly necessary, and integral to the creation of, and understanding the creation of, space necessary for survival, and the safety of the prisoner’s sense of individuality and autonomy.

Another aspect of the reframing of contextual power and the composition of the space necessary for survival is territorialisation (along with de- and re- territorialisation) as this is the outcome of the dynamic relations between physical and/or psychosocial forces (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, 1988, 1994; Fox, 2002). In this study, this is the relationship between a prisoner’s chosen action of power (Being Mad, Being Bad, or Being Cool) and how they chose to utilise this and their environment (the segregated environment). The ownership of this territory is firmly in the hands of the prisoner as he chooses the methods to maintain ownership of it. Not only is the space created for survival considered an aspect of territorialisation, but the specific behaviour(s) of survival adopted also is. Deleuze & Guattari (1994) apply this concept to the “specific arena of how meaning is ascribed within social relations of human life” (p68). Territories and territorialisation are not only physical, but are also, as in the case of survival space creation, psychological, and spiritual.

This reinforces the contextual and situational nature of the survival space, for becoming—different is *in its own time* (original emphasis) (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, 1988; Stagoll, 2005) in the present (where the present is the productive moment of becoming). The present, the becoming time, is a time of production, founded in difference and becoming, and consequent to relations between internal (prisoner society) and external (the authority's need for conformity) differences. Thus (the time of) becoming is the moment correlating to the productive threshold of forces (Stagoll, 2005) the forces of oppression and survival, and the creation of the space necessary to achieve survival.

De- and re- territorialisation (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, 1988) in this study, has resonances with Goffman's (1961) stripping (of identity), for as a prisoner enters the segregated environment, he is stripped of all his macro (wing based) identity (ibid). At this point he is encountering, and going through, deterritorialisation. As he starts to utilise the various personal and contextual behaviours and activities of survival that allow him to reframe contextual power and create his space, he enters the process of reterritorialisation. As each event and encounter within the segregated environment potentially requires a new approach by the prisoner in order to maintain and strengthen his survival space, he is continually going through the process of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation as his BwO is subject to the forces of social interaction and social influence.

Resistance against the authority's power (as mentioned earlier) is seen as the 'line of flight' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988; Fox, 2002) taken by the BwO to escape the territorialising effects of conformity and oppression in its attempt to develop and seek a survival space. Such lines of flight are described as "nomadic subjectivity" (Fox, 2002, p384). As already stated, the relationship between the prisoner and their environment is dynamic, fluid, and contextual therefore movements of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation are common. This nomadic movement is "part of the daily fabric of [the prisoners'] existence, part of the unfolding and becoming-other character of life and death" (ibid, p324) which for some of

the prisoners may be quite literal. In the context of this study, this is the necessity to readjust, or renegotiate (as mentioned earlier in this work) their activities of survival as a response to each new event or interaction that occurs within the segregated environment. It also allows the prisoner to nomadically draw from a range of behaviours, and play out, as deemed necessary, those that will ensure they continue to create the space they desire to survive the experience.

The adoption of their individual action(s) of power, as a demonstration of their reframing contextual power and desire to survive the segregated environment experience, is acknowledged to be but one factor of the survival space created. It is in the interaction between, and incorporation of, all the factors of the survival space (Power Posturing, Power Positioning, and Power Playing, and all the component behaviours and activities) and their sub strata of influence and understanding that nomadology (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988) enables an uninterrupted flow of deterritorialisation movement between survival strategies to prevent complicity, and the creation (or acceptance) of a docile body (Foucault, 1977) and to ultimately survive. This flow is situational, fluid, and contextual to the prisoner and in response to the immediacy and the damaging nature of the event. As such, it utilises a “multiplicity of narratives” (Fox, 2002, p354) to achieve this and is not seen as an outcome, but as a process. In the case of the creation of a survival space, it is (as already stated in this work) a non linear, non predictable, non prescribed process, which continually resists a single fixed (comply and conform) perspective (ibid). The prisoners in the segregated environment, however, cannot be seen as truly nomadic (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, 1988) and so another divergence from a single approach to power occurs.

Nomadism is described (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, 1988) as no longer having an ultimate goal or direction; it is merely wandering along a multiplicity of lines of flight that lead away from centres of power. However, the prisoners in this study are clearly not wandering (especially as this could imply aimlessly wandering) they are enacting (or travelling along)

clearly and carefully considered and chosen paths (lines of flight) that lead from the centre of power (the controlling and repressive activities of the prison authorities). Such nomadic behaviour is in contradiction to Deleuze & Guattari's belief of it not having a goal or direction, for the prisoners are clearly focused on their ultimate goal, to achieve their desire of the creation of a space that will allow them to survive. In doing so they re-territorialise already de-territorialised ground, as "changes change in relation to other changes" (Goodchild, 1996, p173). This reflects the fluid and contextual activities of survival and the fact that nothing (be it a behaviour, an interaction, a response) is static for long, everything changes in the struggle for survival.

Erving Goffman:

In *Asylums*, Goffman (1961) a number of topics and issues that are inherent within, and inherently underpinned by, the concept of power and power relations, are encompassed, and raised for debate. This, together with the fact that Goffman talks at length about relationships, and aspects of existence within total institutions, and how the inmates (sic) maintained self respect, demonstrate clear resonances between Goffman's work (especially *Asylums*) and this current study.

The total institutions in *Asylums* (Goffman, 1961) are perfect comparators when discussing not only the prison environment in its larger context, but also, and especially, the segregation unit that has been the focus for this Doctoral research.

Placing society firmly at the centre of his work, Goffman (1961) suggests that it exists in contradistinction to the individual, as concepts, and as entities, and that any relationship between them is complex and problematic. For these relationships to exist, Goffman suggests a reciprocal dynamic, involving, both a commitment, and an attachment. For the prisoners in the segregated environment the reciprocal nature of the

relationship depends on them having broken (local or national) social (penal) rules, and the authorities responding in a way that is both dictated to, and expected of, them. Similarly, by being placed in the segregated environment there is an expectation from the authority that the prisoner will respond and behave in a particular style, invariably anti-socially. However, this differs from the desire of the authority which is for the prisoner to conform and comply with the rules and regime and become a compliant prisoner while they are there. This desire is based upon the commitment to be the protectors of the other members of the community (the prison) and upholders of the law (micro and macro) acting as agents of social control in an institution that exists purely to function as a bastion of social control. It is obvious that this is what it was designed for, to punish yet protect. There is an acceptance by both parties of the explicit & implicit nature of the demonstrations and usage of power. Yet paradoxically, both groups, the incarcerated and the incarcerators, have a symbiotic attachment to each other. This mutual relationship, where distrust is as important as trust (and a lot more prevalent), where loathing is as important as tolerance (both of, and from, both parties) is underpinned by the fixed and emergent rules of both parties. For without one the other would not exist, and this is despite the dichotomy in the personnel numbers, and the inherent dysfunctional nature of the relationship.

In other words, the relationship between the prisoner, and their immediate segregated environment society, is based both on Goffman's notion that individuals find ways in which to adapt to such oppressive societies. To adapt is to survive: the maxim of prisoners, who need to adapt to different prisons and different regimes within the same establishment (the established function of different wings and differing wing cultures). Segregation brings with it a further set of adaptation requirements for if you cannot adapt to the harsh reality of (effective) solitary confinement, then the consequences could be disastrous to the person's individuality and sense of normality (which has already taken a severe beating by the process of being imprisoned) and their role within that enclosed society will change dramatically as a consequence. It is this adaptation that provides

the prisoners with the ability to create a space to survive the segregated environment. The adaptation process is created by their engaging with their chosen action of power and reframing contextual power.

It is an obvious truism that, according to Goffman (1961) the first thing a person learns upon entering a hospital is how to be a patient. This observation is also applicable to being a prisoner in the wider (macro social) penal sense, and in extremis, in the segregated environment (micro social) environment. Goffman goes on to elaborate on the structure of this human weakness by suggesting a simple dichotomous model of the self. He offers a dual model consisting of the official self and the performing self (as discussed earlier in this work). In order to survive in any kind of social order, he suggests, an individual has to engage in a continuous process of evaluating the demands and expectations made upon him, and attempt to satisfy those by presenting an acceptable behaviour to the outside world. This continuous construction of the official self is stage-managed by the performing self which is motivated by the existential drive to survive, and as such they are in a perpetual state of bewilderment lest they be caught out of character and be denied their privileges and ultimately their lives (ibid).

This is analogous with the prisoners in this study utilising their activities of survival in order to maintain their individuality through the creation of a space necessary to survive the segregated environment. This adoption of a (albeit temporary) changed personality, and subsequent behaviours, is as a consequence of the prisoner's chosen actions of power. The prisoners in this study frequently reported that their behaviours were either extreme extensions of existing strategies or behavioural traits, or they were new, derived from the necessities of the context and situation they were in at that time. They all reported, however, that the segregated environment did bring about changes in them and their actions and behaviours, and their thought processes and attitudes were different here as opposed to when they were on the wings. So it is from this that it can be seen that the performing self dominated while they were in the

segregated environment. One aspect of this that is negative for the prisoner, is that this performing self on occasions became the official self in the eyes of the authority and thus the extreme behaviours utilised when in the segregated environment were expected to be the norm (by the authorities) at all other times. As a consequence, the authority's response to, and relationship with, the prisoners didn't differ between the wings and the segregated environment. This created a dilemma in that the prisoner needed to increase the range, and extremeness, of his behaviours if he was ever sent to the segregated environment again. As a consequence a new, or new variation of, their performing self, a new range or adaptation of the range of power activities were required. This was evidenced when the prisoners in this study discussed how their survival activities differed, sometimes slightly, sometimes quite markedly, every time they entered the segregated environment. This was in response to their immediate needs that also differed each time, as the context and situation varied for each visit. The more successfully the performing self established itself the greater the respect, and higher the reputation, for the prisoner amongst his peers. It is this performing self that both gives, and demonstrates, the prisoner's power, and how they reframe it in the context of surviving the segregated environment.

In order to guarantee survival their performing self may differ, either slightly or markedly, from their official selves. Goffman (1961) suggests that the process of stripping the prisoners of all their social (pre prison, or if in segregation, their wing) roles and privileges is carried out in order to shock their performing self into submission and accept the new demands made upon them. So if somebody has the reputation of being a troublesome prisoner then this segregation stripping is designed to remind him that they have the need to realign their performing and official selves. Following a period where reflection and self appraisal are encouraged (in fact almost demanded) it is hoped that they return to the wider prison society a changed person, somebody who has seen the error of their ways, and whose official and the performing selves are no longer at odds with one another, that is, an individual to whom the expectations and the

pressures of the social order do not pose too great a threat. They have accepted, and adapted to, the prison as their social environment for the forthcoming, and remaining, period of time. The prisoner is required to conform and become compliant to the authority's desires for control. This means that they have not survived the segregated environment intact. They have allowed their individuality to become eroded, and thus their reputation and respect are diminished within the prisoner population mass, therefore succumbed to the desired outcome for the authority.

Goffman (1961) describes stripping as a method of "abasement, degradation and humiliation" (p24). These stripping or mortification activities (which have resonances with Foucault's docile bodies) within the segregated environment serve as instructional activities to ensure that the prisoners learn the fixed rules: the language, activities, functionality, and parameters of authority. This process also serves to reinforce in the prisoner the power relationship they have become part of. These "house rules" (ibid, p51) are explicit and lay out the main requirements and expectations of prisoner conduct and serve as a formal reminder of the austere life of the prisoner (ibid) within the segregated environment. Foucault (1977) highlights how language is "organised around different systems of meanings" (p10) which offer certain people positions of power, while disempowering others. The fixed (house) rules offer the authority figures the ability to administer their position of power and, consequently, disempower the prisoner. The act of disempowering allows for the emergent (prisoner) rules to be absorbed and adopted through the use of "institutional lingo" (Goffman, 1961, p55), therefore re-empowering the prisoners with a sense of belonging and collegiality. These emergent rules also give the prisoners a framework of Conduct and Ethics (Crewe, 2007) (as well as behavioural expectations and parameters) to work within. The contextual adoption of a separate language, words, phrases, meanings that are explicit and exclusive to the prisoner population underpin and give contextual legitimacy to the emergent rules, the unwritten, narratively transmitted and perpetuated Code of Ethics and behaviour (ibid).

Goffman (1961) suggests that the notions of deviancy and normalcy are directly related to what context that behaviour is seen or performed within. Behaviour that is perceived to be deviant outside of the parameters, or influences, of the prison environment (deviant within the wider society) is the reason why this particular social group are incarcerated. As the standards of normalcy (see Foucault earlier) are redefined into the characteristics and behaviours of the social group of the prison setting there is a degree of such deviancy that is acceptable among prisoners as the normative values have become contextual to the prison setting. This appears to be within the context and dictates of a very clear Code of Conduct and Ethics (Crewe, 2007) among the prisoners. This Code is exclusive to the prisoners and permits the degree of deviancy to occur and, in some situations and contexts, to actually increase, and a new level of normalcy and acceptability is required, and produced. It is the environment that provides the context but even this environment has its limitations towards deviant behaviour before it closes ranks and responds with its own punitive measures, from both the authority and the prisoners. The prisoner in the segregated environment, who in the throes of reframing contextual power is acting in a manner that even within the wider prison environment, could be deemed to be deviant. This is due to the context, the situation, and the rationale being appropriate and the deviant behaviour is time limited and will not irrevocably alter the normative parameters of the wider prison. The acceptability of such survival strategies is based on the fact that deviant behaviour in itself is not enough to isolate a prisoner within the social order. Yet within such a deviant and extreme environment as a prison, where an acceptable degree of such behaviour is perceived to be the norm, it is easy to see how these could escalate to a point where a new level of nonconformity is expected and accepted. Thus, the watershed of anti social and non-conformist behaviour amongst the general population could rise as they are perpetuated by people who are deemed to be deviant and non-conformist which is reinforced by virtue of the deviant and non-conformist social order they inhabit.

This said the strict Code of Conduct and Ethics (Crewe, 2007) within the wider prison environment allows the peace to be maintained by the prisoners, and prevents the segregated environmentally acceptable behaviour to become acceptable if brought into the social world of the prisoner. If, or when, the prisoner is no longer capable of making such distinctions themselves, and thus control and modify their own behaviour accordingly, social controls from within the prisoner social group are used against them.

Steven Lukes:

Lukes (1974, 2005) describes power as “the ideological mechanisms of domination and resistance evident throughout the social world” (Lukes, 2005, p12). He illustrates power as a broad concept and provides a means “of accounting for power structures that are least accessible to observation” (ibid, p3). He claims that power has three dimensions: decision making power, non-decision making power, and shaping desires (ibid). He indicates that each of his identified dimensional views are derived from, and function within, specific political and moral perspectives. These counter the vision of power in terms of repression and production as presented in Foucault’s (1977) *Discipline and Punish* by presenting a view of alternatives, “although the agents operate within structurally determined limits, they nonetheless have a certain relative autonomy and acted differently” (Lukes, 1974, p54; Gilbert, 1995, p867).

Lukes 1st Dimension ~ Decision making power refers to how different individuals or groups express different policy preferences and influence the making of decisions over various issues. It highlights explicit conflict, and considers whose preferences prevail. The resonances with the rules and regulatory power, the official power of the prison system, are evident. The rules and regulations are formal, pre and proscriptive and are not up for negotiation with the prisoner, or to a large extent the people authorised to action this regulations, the Prison Officers. Within the segregated

environment, and the wider prison, an alternate set of principles and preferences also exist, these being of the prisoner. The conflicts arise when the requirements and/or desires of these two groups, and their two sets of policies and regulations, meet and contradict each other. It is this strand of power that the prisoners in the segregated environment reframe contextual power against and strive to create a space for survival. It is the influences, and dominance, of the prison authorities seeking compliance and conformity that the prisoner resists against. This forms the crux of the relationship, the relationship that is built upon a mutual symbiotic usage of power.

Lukes 2nd Dimension ~ Non decision-making is where power may be used to prevent certain issues being discussed or decisions about them being taken. Individuals and groups exercise power by preventing those who take decisions from considering all the possible alternative sources of action, or by limiting the range of decisions they are allowed to take. From the prisoner's perspective everything that happens to them, the choices about their time in the segregated environment, the activities they are offered and undertake fall under this dimension. When the prisoners are given choices they are invariably Hobson's choice because the decision has already been made for them. On the occasion they are given a choice it is in reality a none choice for the option they would have chosen had not been offered. This serves to continue to erode the prisoner's sense of individuality and sense of purpose and dignity, which he is determined to maintain through activities of survival. While reframing contextual power through his actions of power, the prisoner is able to maintain his sense of individuality as he has made a choice to survive the segregated environment and chosen the strategy(ies) necessary to create his survival space. Akin to his Prison Officer counterparts, the prisoner is using, to an extent, this 2nd Dimension for he is giving them a none-choice, his choice of surviving is the only choice he is making and offering them: surviving with all that entails.

Lukes 3rd Dimension ~ describes how power can be exercised by manipulating the wishes and desires of social groups. A social group may be persuaded to accept, or even desire, a situation that may be harmful to them. This third dimension is concerned with the powerless being influenced by the forces of ideology and relations of production to act against their own objective interests through a lack of expression or consciousness of their position. Power is viewed as operating to shape people's "perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things" (Lukes, 2005, p28) and fail to consider alternatives, perceive things as unchangeable, or believe them to be beneficial (Ibid). However, it is with the notion of the powerless that this study conflicts with Lukes' theory of power. Despite attempts by the authority, while the prisoner is in the segregated environment, to remove and restrain any vestiges of their individuality and thus have them conform, comply and become powerless, prisoners are not powerless. To be totally powerless would mean that they have become docile bodies (Foucault, 1977) and that their self has been mortified (Goffman, 1961) and that they have not survived this segregated experience. It is obvious, and accepted, that their power is not the same as that of the authority; through nonetheless they are not powerless. Each prisoner within the segregated environment is part of a reciprocal, and mutual, power relationship with the Prison Officers. They can decide by how much, or by how little, they engage in this for this will signify their determination and desire for survival. Once they have determined that they will survive this segregated environment experience, no physical or verbal remonstrations from the Prison Officers will sway the prisoner from this, for this is now their main concern, their desire, their protection of their individuality. For the prisoner now undertaking this, survival is power and power is survival.

(... and) Ludwig Wittgenstein:

Foucault's discussion of power, in *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault, 1977) centres around power being a strategy, or a game, not consciously played

by individuals, but one that operates within the machinery of (in this instance the segregated) society. Power affects everyone from the prisoner to the Prison Officer, but no one individual can control it. These rules, be they of the authority, or the prisoner society, are the vehicles for the vocabulary of power in the context of social relationships (Lukes, 2005). These social relationships are grounded in the actions, or inactions, of one party, which significantly affect the thoughts or actions of the other, and as such each action (or inaction) and its consequential result are activities of power.

Wittgenstein (McGinn, 2008) talks about the language game, by which he refers to *both* the activities used to teach people language *and* (original emphasis, SDK) the activity of using language. In this study, prisoners are taught the language of the authority's fixed rules, the house rules (Goffman, 1961), upon entering the prison, these are reinforced on a daily basis by the activities of the staff to ensure compliance to these rules. So the fixed rule language game commences on their first day in prison. When a prisoner is transferred to the segregated environment the language game intensifies as the variant set of fixed rules (which are contextual to the segregated environment) and the activities associated with this language use are more immediate due to the intense nature of the environment, and the dynamics of the relationship between the two social groups. Wittgenstein's language game is also related to the fact that language is a "system of meaningful signs" (McGinn, 2008, p111) which are embedded in the lives of those who speak it, be it prisoner or Officer. These signs are a major part of the reciprocal power relationship held between prisoner and officer as they are indicators of power, dependent upon who is wielding it at the time. But the signs, for the prisoner, come from their lives in the prison, and any previous segregated environment experiences. These are signs that are bound by experience and as such direct the prisoner towards striving towards, and guaranteeing, survival in the segregated environment.

Language, as reflected in the fixed and emergent rules, mirrors the customs, as well as the regulations, of both social groups. Fixed rules are prescriptive and proscriptive, detailed, written in formal legalese to reflect the authority and the power they hold and wield. While the (potentially subversive) nature of the emergent (prisoner) rules are created, conveyed, implemented, and reinforced through the interactions of prisoners and the unwritten, narrative culture of this subgroup and are contextual, situational (and thus fluid). They reflect the desire by prisoners to resist and survive. One is language designed to apply power, while the other is intended to empower.

Comparison of Theories

As these theorists (particularly the main four) all discuss power in differing, diverse, ways, I now offer an exploration of the similarities and differences between them, and the findings of this thesis. This is not intended to be, nor is it, an exhaustive exploration of these similarities and differences, rather this is drawn from the theories inclusion and application in this thesis, and the findings of this study themselves, as described in the Findings and Discussion chapters. To achieve this I have constructed (non grounded theory derived, but comparative) three major themes from this study ('Definition of Power', 'Enactment of Power', and 'Resistance to Power'). I have then offered a 'definition'; a summary, of each theme derived from my findings, then offered the similarities and differences between each theorist in relation to each 'defining summary'.

Definition of Power

Power, as conceptualised and operationalised within the findings of this thesis, is defined as the prisoner's ability to utilise necessary, and voluntary, interpersonal activity(ies) within a relationship that is characterised by its power imbalance and conflict. This particular social

group (the prisoners) are deemed to be powerless, and the unwitting recipients of coercive and oppressive power. It is within this relationship that the prisoners utilise a range of autonomy producing, individual, actions and behaviours of survival. This dynamic complex of individual power dimensions provides an outlet for a prisoner's individual power, as well as maintaining and strengthening the division between the social groups. To enable, and utilise this complex, the prisoner regularly and contextually (in response to the environment, the situation and any interactions) negotiates, constructs, renegotiates and reconstructs (alternative) personal presentations that allows the creation, and utilisation, of a combination of the protective and proactive power actions and behaviours, and the essences of survival.

Power is also defined as being individual, exclusive, unique, and particular to each prisoner, as is the survival space they create through its utilisation. It is this individualistic power that the prisoner reframes contextually and draws upon to maintain a necessary degree of autonomy and control over their immediate situation and relationships. This conceptual and contextual, thesis, definition demonstrates that the (perceived) powerless (the prisoners) have the power to actively strive for, and achieve, a space necessary for survival and thus survive the segregated environment experience. Through this the prisoner's desire, their ultimate goal, is created: the space necessary to achieve survival in the segregated experience.

In the context of this thesis power is defined and explicated in a twofold interconnected manner. Firstly, power is the actions and behaviours undertaken by the prisoners necessary for achieving survival. It is also the actual survival space that is created as the end product of the reframing, and utilisation, of their contextual actions of power. Power is survival; power is survival; an intertwined and interlinked force that ensures that the prisoner's survival space has a power of its own and therefore has a sense of freedom in it.

Similarities and Differences

One of the obvious differences between this, thesis derived, definition of power and Foucault's (1977, 1978) notion of disciplinary power is the focus and direction of travel in the exercising of power. This thesis focuses on the utilisation of aspects of power by the (perceived) oppressed group, which are the target for Foucault's (ibid) explication of disciplinary power, particularly in *Discipline and Punish*. The notion that power is a feature of all relationships is a commonality to both Foucault's and this thesis's discussions of power. While one of the aspects of disciplinary power within the relationship is to construct a certain type of person(s), this thesis shows how the prisoners create their own alternative self in order to combat the creation of the compliant and conforming person (docile body) (Foucault, 1977). A notion shared between both theories is that power is a strategic event within the relationship, albeit from opposing and differing stances. For the prisoners in the segregated environment, these strategic events encompass the creation, activation, and utilisation of the survival space creating activities. A major difference is that while disciplinary power involves regulating lives (in the creation of the aforementioned certain type of person) the prisoners in this study were opposing this regulating power and rescuing their lives while in the segregated environment.

While there are obvious similarities and differences between the Foucauldian definition of power and this study, it is with Deleuze and Guattari (1984, 1988) that there are greater resonances. One of the major issues that Deleuze and Guattari takes with the Foucauldian definition is that they do not see power as being relational, nor being about 'power over', rather it is an individual affair. They say (and this is one of the more important similarities between this thesis and all the theorists discussed) that people have 'power to be' and, thus, the prisoners have the 'power to be' somebody who survives. This is supported by the prisoner engaging with, and protecting, the essence of survival (hope, individuality, autonomy, desire, etc). Deleuze and Guattari feel it is more appropriate to talk about

desire, rather than power, and it is this conceptualisation of the desire 'to be', that makes this thesis comparable with their work.

Goffman's (1961) placing of society at the centre of his work is analogous to the segregated society at the centre of this thesis. Similarities follow in that relationships, as discussed by Goffman and as explicated within this thesis, are complex and problematic aspects of the power dynamic. Goffman (ibid) discusses a range of factors that are important features within this dynamic of power relationships. As an overall sociological observation his discussions of the total institution(s) have particular relevance to this study. Although he discusses the effects upon patients in mental hospitals, his assertions and allusions that there is a parity between his focal group and 'inmates' within all other total institutions, are apposite.

Lukes (1974, 2005) offers a broad based, generic, definition of power, before explaining this in terms of his Three Dimensional Theory as a means of accounting for power structures. His 1st dimension, 'decision making power', is similar to this study in that it resonates with the application and enforcement of the authority's fixed rules, though it offers nothing from the perspective of the prisoner. His 2nd dimension, 'non-decision making power', is useful, in this thesis, for understanding the none-choice that prisoners have in the segregated environment. This could also be applied to the prisoner reframing his contextual power, for he has given the authorities a none-choice in that he is utilising his actions and behaviours of power to create his survival space. Finally his 3rd dimension, 'shaping desires' relates to the coercive nature of power, whereby the recipient of the power will change to become accepting and docile. This resonates with Foucault's (1977) notion of changing the person through the application of power, or Goffman's (1961) mortification. As already shown this thesis contradicts this stance.

Enactment of Power

Within this thesis the power that is both necessary, and utilised, to create the space to survive the segregated experience is enacted through the demonstration of collective or individual actions of power. The desired result, apart from ultimate survival, is that the prisoners' gain a degree of autonomous control over elements of their lives within the segregated environment. It is through the tripartite of power actions and behaviours (Power Posturing, Power Positioning, and Power Playing) that the prisoner defines who they are, how they are able to survive, and what lengths and extremes they are prepared to go to, to survive, thus interlinking and interconnecting the reframing contexts of power.

The enactment of power is in the context of the power relationship within the segregated environment and has an effect upon the application of individual actions and behaviours. It is this relationship that constitutes the context for the prisoners' reframing their power. Through the utilisation of the negotiated and constructed alternative self, the prisoner creates his survival space, and this allows for the full potential of the triad of power behaviours to be realised.

Each enactment of power is contextual and situational and this fluidity of the power actions is dependent upon each individual situation the prisoner encounters within the segregated environment, as well as the context this situation occurs within. It is this fluidity that requires the prisoner to not only negotiate (and renegotiate) and construct (and reconstruct) their alternative presentations, but also each individual enactment. The fluidity and fluctuation of each enactment is dependent upon necessity and it is this, and the prisoner's survival response to this, that affords the survival space its depth and breadth.

The survival space itself, as well as the process *of creating* the survival space, are protected by the dynamic, interactive, proactive, and reactive power actions and behaviours. This ensures that the space is not an empty

void. These space creating activities, whether they are indicative of Being Mad, Being Bad, and/or Being Cool, are designed to protect the prisoner from permanent (physical or psychological) damage, inner disintegration, or the descent into (clinical) madness.

Similarities and Differences

In its enactment, power is not primarily repressive but productive (Foucault 1977) and this is enacted through the relationship between prisoner and authority. In the case of this thesis it is the prisoners, not the authority that use their productive ability. It is within this relationship that there are similarities of power enactment between this thesis and Foucault, in that power is articulated for both parties, though specifically the prisoners. He identified that in everyday articulations of power (as in the segregated environment) the power that prison officers and prisoners hold is part of their mutual relationship. One of the differences between Foucault's (1978) enactment of power and this thesis is when he states that observation (and its three stages) is a mechanism of disciplinary power. While this is deemed to be a coercive authoritarian power strategy, this is not a major feature of surviving segregation, from the prisoner's perspective. The enactment and enforcement of power in the segregated environment is visible in the environmental, organisational, and regime aspects and Foucault (ibid) suggests that this is crude and coercive power, which is, again, where we differ. The enactment of power actions and behaviours in order to create a space for survival through the reframing of contextual power is, for the prisoner, the application, utilisation, and enactment of sophisticated power.

As mentioned previously Deleuze & Guattari, (1988) preferred the term desire, to power. It is through the enactment of this desire that this thesis resonates with Deleuze & Guattari, in that in this sense, power is positive, specifically for the prisoner who reframes contextual power. Both Deleuze & Guattari and this thesis show that a person is the embodiment of their own individual power and is characterised by what they and that power can

do, in its enactment. Further similarities occur in Deleuze & Guattari's (1988) discourse on active, and reactive, power. This (re)affirms the prisoner's existence in which they together (the reframed and contextual power, and themselves) are inextricably linked within the segregated environment. A similarity, that reinforces the contextual and situational nature of the survival space, is the notion of 'becoming-different' and how this is *in its own time* (original emphasis), in the present (where the present is the productive moment of becoming) (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, 1988). The present, is a time of reframing contextual power and thus surviving the segregated environment.

Goffman's (1961) discourses around relationships and power within total institutions resonate on a number of levels with this thesis and its findings. He discusses the 'inmates' of total institutions utilising their official self and the performing self. This continuous construction of the official self (which is stage-managed by the performing self) is motivated by the desire to survive. A parallel can be drawn with the prisoners in this study as they engage with, and utilise, their actions and behaviours of power, through contextual reframing, in order to survive. This temporary, but alternative personality and behaviours are as a consequence of the prisoner's chosen behaviours of power. A prisoner's enactment of power is, as well as being ultimately an act of survival, also to counter the effects of stripping (Goffman, 1961). These stripping or mortification activities (which have resonances with Foucault's (1977) docile bodies) serve to action the fixed rules of the establishment. The similarities with Goffman's work and this thesis continue when he expands his discussions of the disempowering power of these house rules upon the prisoner. In this thesis the prisoner population utilise the unwritten and narratively transmitted Prisoner Code of Conduct and Ethics (Crewe, 2007) to counter this.

In the first of Lukes' aforementioned dimensions of power (Lukes, 2005) he discusses how this highlights explicit conflict which has resonances with this thesis. Such conflicts, and thus the enacting of power, occur within the segregated environment when the power structures and requirements of

both groups meet and contradict each other. His 2nd dimension differs somewhat from this thesis in that power is used to prevent decisions being made without consideration to all the possible alternatives being allowed. The prisoners in this study have made the decision, from their own range of choices, to survive, and through reframing contextual power, utilise the actions of power of preference. Lukes' (ibid) final dimension describes how power is enacted to manipulate the wishes and desires of social groups. The enactment of Lukes' theory has a similarity with this thesis, ie: the prison authority's attempting to manipulate the desires (to survive) of prisoners. This 3rd dimension is concerned with the powerless being influenced to act against their interests. In this sense, power is seen being enacted to shape people's "perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things" (Lukes, ibid, p28). However, it is with the notion of 'the powerless' that differences occur, for the prisoners within this study are not powerless. They have the power to reframe their contextual power and survive the segregated environment. To be totally powerless would mean that they have become docile bodies (Foucault, 1977), their self has been mortified (Goffman, 1961) and that they have not survived this segregated experience. It is true that the power they possess, and enact, is not the same as that of the authority; but they are not powerless.

Resistance to Power

Resistance to power is defined within this thesis as the power of the (perceived) powerless to actively resist the application of the authority's fixed rules, and the necessary relationships to action them, in order to strive for empowerment and thus survive the segregated environment. Resistance is not rebellion or insurrection, resistance in the context of, and as defined in, this thesis, is about *resisting*: resisting the debilitating and damaging effects of the authority's coercive and oppressive power.

Resistance is either active or passive (through the behaviours of Being Mad, Being Bad, and/or Being Cool), and by engaging in these power activities prisoners demonstrate autonomy and individuality and are able to resist the effects of the immediate situation. This complex interplay, through the utilisation of these actions, allows prisoners to give definition and substance to their lives, as well as define who they are as individuals, and as potential, anticipated, and actual, survivors. As these power actions and behaviours are always contextual in their situational response and actioning, it follows that resistance is always contextual.

To engage with actions of power, to resist, especially in extremis requires the prisoner to engage with, and utilise, their 'alternative' (negotiated and constructed) self. It is this engagement and enactment of their alternative self that allows the prisoner to go to the lengths and extremes (of behaviour) that they (and the situation) deem necessary to ensure survival. It is this that gives substance, meaning, and purpose to the activity of resistance and thus the survival.

Similarities and Differences

Power, for Foucault, is exercised so that forms of resistance are created. Resistance within the wider environmental context of this thesis, is seen as resistance to the application of coercive and oppressive power, as a consequence of being in prison, so power and oppression begets resistance from a Foucauldian perspective. However, within the segregated environment, resistance is perceived as resisting. In contrast to Foucault, resistance (resisting) was not defined by the prisoner sample as a consequence of power, rather it is in response to power being enforced upon them, a separate yet intertwined relationship. The difference between this thesis and the Foucauldian understanding of the relationship between resistance and power is succinctly put by Hartmann (2003), when he states that "resistance [according to Foucault] becomes entirely reactive or merely a reaction-to-power and not a positive action on its own terms" (p4).

For resistance to (resisting) power *is* defined by the prisoners in this thesis as being a positive activity.

This positive appraisal of power is continued by Deleuze & Guattari (1988), as they view it not as an oppositional stance but as a creative process. This resonates with this thesis' findings, as this creates the space necessary to achieve survival. The Body without Organs is seen as the site of resistance (Deleuze & Guattari, 1984, 1988) and is continually constructed and reconstructed (ibid) through the prisoner's activities of creating the necessary survival space and survival. This is comparable to the (re)negotiation and (re)construction of alternative presentations and actions of power undertaken by the prisoner. Resistance against the authority's power is seen as the line of flight (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988; Fox, 2002) taken by the BwO to escape the effects of conformity and oppression in an attempt to develop and seek a survival space. As demonstrated throughout this work, resistance (or resisting) per se is not the prisoner's primary objective, survival is.

Goffman (1961) states that finding ways to adapt to oppressive societies are survival strategies. Such adaptations are frequently mentioned by the theorists included in this chapter, and thus adaptation is resistance (resisting) is survival. This adaptation provides the prisoners with the ability to reframe their contextual power and create a space to survive the segregated environment. He offers the duality of the official and performing selves to further understand the (prisoner's) utilising actions of resistance (resisting) which constitute the reframing of contextual power.

Lukes (1974, 2005) doesn't discuss resistance to power to any great extent, though comparisons can be made with the prisoners in the segregated environment and the explications of his three dimensions of power. It is against decision making power (1st dimension) that the prisoners resist in the segregated environment. It is the dominant influences of the prison regime that demand compliance and conformity that the prisoner resists against. Within the 2nd dimension (non decision

making) resistance behaviours serve to give the authorities a none-choice, for surviving is the only choice the prisoner is making and offering them. The prisoners in this study counter the manipulation goals of Lukes' (ibid) 3rd dimension of power, and all the attempts to remove their individuality and have them conform, comply, and become powerless, by acts of resistance and survival and as a consequence they are not powerless.

In conclusion, Foucault's (1977) work in *Discipline and Punish* has resonance with this study however there are conflicts with Lukes' 3rd dimension. Goffman's illustrations and comparisons with other total institutions in *Asylums*, demonstrates that there are similar (if not identical) problems in all such places (this is also echoed by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish*). The work of Deleuze & Guattari I feel, offers a more complete understanding than any of the theorists discussed in this chapter, but still, as stated throughout, not sufficiently enough in their own right. While there are certainly threads and resonances of themes throughout these works (as well as conflicts and contradictions), to ensure that a sophisticated explication of the prisoner reframing contextual power is achieved, it is imperative to integrate the work of all these theorists as no one approach or understanding can successfully do provide it themselves alone.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

“Reasoning draws a conclusion, but does not make the conclusion certain, unless the mind discovers it by the path of experience”.

(Robert Bacon, 1220-1292)

“I think and think for months and years. Ninety nine times, the conclusion is false. The hundredth time I am right”.

(Albert Einstein, 1879-1955)

“A conclusion is the place where you got tired of thinking”.

(Albert Bloch 1948-)

The findings of this study generate pertinent issues relevant to the Segregation Unit. They provide a mechanism by which to understand the issues of power and survival within the context of segregation. In this chapter I offer a summary, an overview, of the salient points of this Doctoral study, and thus demonstrate the development of the substantive theory, *reframing contextual power*. As this will be the final opportunity to reflect upon the thesis as a whole, this chapter will reiterate the key themes raised, both within, and across the chapters. I then outline how I believe this thesis is unique and important and therefore has contributed to the extant body of knowledge in this field. It discusses some of the limiting factors and limitations of the research as well as making suggestions for further research, education, and practice development, arising from this study. I will leave with a salient message for the (potential) future of segregation and the solitary confinement of prisoners.

Reflections of the Thesis

The thesis commenced with an overall introduction to some of the wider issues and elements of this study. By commencing with a mini biopic of myself I hoped to demonstrate where I was situated, academically, professionally, and personally as I approached this study. By doing so I

showed that I was not coming into this field of enquiry (Her Majesty's Prison Service system) totally blind and inexperienced. It was from this experience and history that the concept of Experiential Alertness was developed. This was to prove a fruitless yet worthwhile diversion for my methodological (and knowledge) development, for this was a new (or so I thought) approach to (constructivist) grounded theory. I felt at the time it allowed me a unique slant towards acknowledging and utilising my prior knowledge, skills, and experiences in all stages of the research process. However, it became apparent that it was merely a feature of my constructivist approach to grounded theory, by another name, as well as being seen as effective use of abductive reasoning. So while this new concept assisted in my knowledge and methodological growth, it actually offered nothing to the overall methodology or research methods. This was an interesting, and beneficial, exercise nonetheless, in higher level conceptualising through its development and demise.

By offering an insight into the Segregation Unit used for this study so early in the thesis, I gave the reader an understanding of some of the environmental and access issues as seen from an outsider's perspective. This was intended to clearly situate, from the outset, the unique and rare nature of both the environment as well as its population. The narrative, almost literary, style of this section was a deliberate choice in that it conveys the mood and the atmosphere of the sample site in a far more emotive way than simply reporting, in a cold none experiential way, could capture. Though this is an example of how reality depends on the observer, for any other person may well perceive what described in a totally different fashion. However, this was not to detract from the problems that can, and did, occur, when researching in such an environment as a prison setting, though most of them were not impossible to resolve. These were taken from on the spot observations and experiences, which provided a contemporaneous record of the obstacles, potential as well as actual, that I faced during the data gathering period of this research.

It was at this point that both this thesis, and the initial stages of the process that resulted in the inductively (and abductively) created substantive theory, were introduced. At this stage though, this offered merely an introduction to the chosen methodology of constructivist grounded theory. It served as a starting point for the development of this study as it unfolds within this thesis. The Research Aims and Objectives were also offered next to firmly situate the function and approaches of this research from an early stage.

This work then continued by offering the back story to segregation, which was intended to serve two purposes. Firstly, to fill in the gaps in the extant literature pertaining to this under researched, and little known, environment. Secondly, to continue to develop a story line to aid in the further understanding of, and add richness to, the developing illustration that is being created of segregation units, within this work. Through the integrative critique of the research, insider, and official perspectives, it was hoped that these would contribute to theoretical saturation further in the expanding of this research.

The one research paper that was highlighted for specific attention was Martel (2006). There are similarities between this study and Martel in that they both capture the voices of prisoners in segregation units and both look at aspects of space. Yet while these two studies differ sufficiently to allow them to be independent and individual in their own right, they are sufficiently similar to complement each other. It is not an understatement that more research focussing on, and in, segregation and segregation units is required. The insider perspective was hoped to act as a counter to the media's one sided reporting of segregation. The papers reported gave first hand experiences of the prisoner's segregation experience, however, they do show the prisoner to be a victim (as well as a survivor) of the segregation system rather than show the 'as it happens' perspective as is the case with this study. The problems faced when attempting to acquire copies of the relevant legal and official documents demonstrated a further problem of researching in such an environment and its wider

organisational system. However, those documents that were acquired did reflect, through their choice of linguistic style, the overall aims of Her Majesty's Prison Service and how these aims of control and discipline are underpinned by a range of prescriptive and proscriptive rules that ensure, and dictate, clearly defined boundaries.

By now the scene has been set for the recounting of the implementation of this research study. By this stage in the research (and as shown through the developments I have described so far within this thesis) my methodological approach was constructivist grounded theory, though in retrospect (as highlighted earlier) I was using the principles of constructivism and the process of (classic) grounded theory. I describe how adopting an active reflexive approach allowed me to gain access to the sample, create and maintain effective and knowledgeably informed and understood interviews and have a clear understanding of the issues discussed (in the context they were discussed in). This was through the effective utilisation, and demonstration, of my prior experiences and existing knowledge acquired from within such environments as these. The methodology chosen allowed for this utilisation of my knowledge base(s) in assisting theoretical understanding through my immersion in the setting, literature, and environmental issues, as well as data. It proved most effective for my needs during the process of collecting and analysing the unique data. It allowed me to create the substantive theory from such rich and rare data which was effective in exploring (and answering) the phenomenon under investigation: the research question.

Having detailed the constituent elements of the methodology I progressed to explicate the process and practical issues, the actual research procedures, the methods used to actualise this research. The focus of the thesis was then on the constructivist grounded theory process and practicalities of sampling, the specific methods used for data collection, analysis, interpretation, and the ultimate construction of a substantive theory. I continued the earlier theme of highlighting, and exploring, challenging areas while carrying out this research, this time with relevance

to the practicalities during the access negotiation phase(s), as well as the performance of the interviews. At this point the procedural development of the core category, and its inherent (higher level) codes and categories that were produced through the iterative, inductive, process was explicated. Leaving the remainder of the thesis to explore and expand these elements during the further unfolding of the substantive theory developed through the use of constructivist grounded theory.

And so it is that we reach the actual substantive theory, and the detailed explication of this and its component elements. What followed next was an explanation of the core category of this substantive theory: *'Reframing Contextual Power'* as it was constructed through integration and interpretation of the data and current theoretical evidence.

The explication of the core category, reframing contextual power, commenced by detailing the prisoners in the Segregation Unit's main concern, as they described it, and through exploration of the data. The prisoners expressed, at interview, a desire to survive their time(s) in segregation, and exploration and analysis of the data showed that it was evident that he did this through the creation of survival space. This is the desired outcome of their time(s) in the Segregation Unit, and of the reframing of contextual power. This is achieved through the interlinking and interconnecting of their activities and behaviours of power which are influenced by, and in the context of, the event or situation they are faced with. This is the reframing of power that allows them to create the space they need to survive the segregated environment experience. Entry into the segregated environment creates for the prisoner two options; they can either comply and conform, or resist and survive. However, it must be said that these options are not always strictly exclusive, they are contextually interchangeable. Some prisoners do give the impression of compliance (false compliance) yet are resisting, and thus surviving. While comply and conform, or resist and survive, are the predominant strategies and consequences, the variations are dependent upon the individual context and situation the prisoner encounters. This is the premise that the notions,

and stances, of resistance and survival are grounded in, and originate, from. To survive gains the prisoner respect from their peers, and to enhance their social standing, while having (or gaining respect) aids survival. It is respect that is the mainstay against the effects of the controlling, dominating, and destructive effects of the authoritarian system. This results in the desire for, and creation of, a survival space. The ensuing discussion on survival drew on theoretical sources and experiences to show how a number of authors have discussed space in varying ways though all theoretically equitable and concomitant in essence they each differ in their application.

The final part of the formation of this substantive theory was to illustrate how the core category expanded into its theoretical constitution. This shows how it developed from, and is influenced by, the categories, to the axial codes, and culminating in the sub core categories, as this demonstrated that this substantive theory is firmly grounded in the data it was derived from. This in depth explication of reframing contextual power, through the development of the sub core categories, Power Playing, Power Positioning, and Power Posturing, demonstrated how these were created through the interlinking of their individual axial codes. The axial codes were discussed in further depth to show their individual categories and how the overall substantive theory is grounded in the original data through the use of data sources and sound bites to illuminate this.

The actions of power, the activities and behaviours of survival that allowed the prisoner in the segregated environment to reframe contextual power, constituted the sub core categories. These collections of behaviours (Power Playing, Power Positioning, and Power Posturing) allowed for reframing to occur through action, knowledge, and relationships within the context of the segregated environment. The power they reframed is the power drawn from the collective elements of these overarching power contexts. It is this non linear application of interconnected and interlinked power actions that produce the essential survivalist change in their persona. When the prisoner is reframing contextual power these activities

are visited, and revisited, as the prisoner deems necessary, in a spiral fashion, for these constituent elements are the building blocks for survival and are intrinsically linked with each other. It is important to reiterate that each individual reframing is as individual as the individual prisoner themselves. Each reframing of contextual power, and each time they created a space necessary for survival (that is, each time in the segregated environment) their reframing activities, and power usage, as well as the context, was different. For each (segregation) experience is a new (segregation) experience that requires a new response.

It is an obvious truism that there is a need for authoritarian control. Yet, some problematic prisoner behaviour could be seen as the product of institutional conditions that promote it. Such a contextual view of behaviour would lead us to consider the harmful long term consequences of placing prisoners in regimes of confinement such as Segregation Units. It is inevitable that certain postures, actions and behaviours are used in response to being within such an environment. The way in which power is administered, and the way in which internal flows of power interact with external political, economical, sociological, and ideological forces, is an example of the institutional dynamics. So in this sense, even acts of self harm may be seen as strategic acts of resistance and coping which are rooted in moral and political indignation, rather than as passive admissions of defeat.

It was at this point the detailed and illustrated explication of the substantive theory, its construction and composition, came to an end. All that was left was an exploration of power as a theoretical concept. This was offered to gain an understanding of the issues and concepts that are applicable to the prisoner. But it had become obvious that, just as there is no one definite or definitive explanation of how a prisoner reframes contextual power, similarly there is no one definitive definition, or understanding, of power that is applicable to this study and the substantive theory. To this end it was necessary to explore this assertion, so an integrated approach to defining and applying power was offered in an

attempt to explicate the reality of power within the segregated environment.

By utilising Foucault, Deleuze & Guattari, Goffman, and Lukes (and bit of Wittgenstein) this thesis demonstrated that while power, is coercive in nature, the prisoners themselves are NOT powerless in their response. The power within the segregated environment is relational and it is within that relationship that the prisoners use that power, or desire, to 'become'. Through this they become individuals, and autonomous, and as a consequence they prevent the creation of the docile body (Foucault, 1977) or becoming mortified (Goffman, 1961). So it is that, through the actions they take to reframe contextual power they satisfy their desire of creating a space necessary for survival. There are echoes and resonances of this in others work, for Deleuze & Guattari discuss people becoming a different version of themselves, with Goffman's official and performing selves taking a very similar line.

So in closing this summary I feel that while Foucault's work resonates with this study it conflicts with Lukes' 3rd dimension. Goffman's (1961) and Foucault's (1977) comparison with (total) institutions demonstrates that there are comparative problems in such places. Deleuze & Guattari, I feel, offer a more complete understanding than any of the other theorists but still not sufficiently. There are threads and resonances of themes throughout these works (as well as conflicts and contradictions), to ensure that a sophisticated explication of prisoner reframing contextual power is achieved. However, it is imperative to integrate the work of all these theorists as no one approach or understanding can successfully do provide it themselves alone.

Original Contribution

This research is original and unique for a number of reasons:

- That it sampled a rare population, within a unique sample site, and is one of a small number of research studies to have successfully achieved this.
- It produced a multi-vocal exploration of a hidden aspect of a secret society rarely entered by the general populace. This explication of the phenomenon (segregation, the environment and the experience) was through the experiences of a rarely accessed, unique and (potentially) very difficult (behaviourally and politically) sample group. The end result, this thesis, as well as the overall research experience, is informative as well as necessary, and thus very important.
- The resulting substantive theory, reframing contextual power, uses a multi-mode approach to understanding power as it is experienced and utilised by the prisoners in segregation. No one theory of power can succinctly convey power usage in this environmental and situational context, so a multi-mode approach was necessary, drawing, as has been seen in the previous chapter, from a number of leading theorists.

It is for these very facts that this research is important and therefore contributes to the body of knowledge surrounding convicted prisoners, and (potentially) other restricted, and marginalised, and penalised, groups of society.

Limiting Factors and Limitations of the Study

There were a number of limiting factors in carrying out this research. Most of these were factors that, while not limitations per se, did slow down the

research process and they certainly could have been problematic, and result in limitations, if they hadn't been acknowledged, addressed, and resolved, prudently and swiftly. A number of these were addressed in more depth in the 'Trials and Tribulations of Prison Research' section in Chapter 1.

- One of the main limiting factors that slowed down the research progress was the issue of access, to both the sample group and to the site itself. Negotiating and gaining access was always a difficult area. This was always at the behest of an (invariably anonymous) third party. Initial access to the site to discuss the (at that time, proposed) research was requested, approved (after discussions within the organisation at a high managerial level) and eventually granted. Gaining access to the sample group was similarly difficult due to security procedures and a natural caution on the behalf of the staff. Access to carry out the interviews, despite being approved by Governors, and certified in the letter of authorisation I always carried with me, was still dependant on a range of factors that were out of my control, no less Gate Security. It was here that I could be refused access for any reason deemed reasonable by the staff on duty, despite the authorisation letter. So access to the sample was never guaranteed and always a cause for concern.

Despite these (and other) access difficulties and restrictions, and delays in the various processes and procedures, I was, as stated earlier in this thesis, fortunate to gain access to the sample and the environment. Though despite being persistent and determined to carry out this research, I feel that, certainly in the early stages, there was an element of being in the right place at the right time, as well as having a number of insider contacts who helped with ensuring the process went (fairly) smoothly.

- Conditions had been attached to the initial approval of entry to carry out the research, one, which is a limitation of this research, was that there was to be no opportunity to do return, confirmatory, member checking, or follow up interview visits, or interviews, with the sample group.
- The mobility of the prisoners was another potential limiting factor. There was always the possibility that they could be moved from the Segregation Unit in the intervening time, from my arranging the interview to coming to carry out the interview, to either (a) back to the wings and normal association, or (b) they could be transferred to another prison. In either case this meant that the interview, obviously, could not proceed.
- A limiting factor I faced, upon commencing to negotiate this research study, was the research culture within the wider organisation. The Prison Service has an active research culture with appropriate and necessary structures in place and they are accustomed to researchers within the prison. However, there appeared to be a reticence, and caution, within some quarters of the staff group, towards researchers and research. This was certainly apparent within the Segregation Unit, and I was conscious of the fact that I was only in their Unit because a member of management had sanctioned it, and whilst they would not openly prevent it going ahead, they would not be overly accommodating.

However, that said, I am aware of another possible reason for their caution. There could well have been antipathy towards research, researchers, and anybody outside the organisation, talking to their prisoners. But, I am also conscious that they have a responsibility towards all visitors to the Unit and for their safety. This caution could well (and possibly did) account for this fact, this need to ensure my safety, especially as I was hoping to interview these prisoners without

an Officer present. For as one prisoner reminded me, “... *there is some exceptionally (emphasised) dangerous people in this jail ... nobody’s in here for shoplifting ...*” (1/98), “... *violence comes in all shapes and sizes ... right ... we are not in here for shoplifting ...*” (1/287).

- There is also the issue of the limiting factor of secrecy. It is an accepted feature of the Prison Service that secrecy is essential for maintaining integrity and security, but this did have an impact on this research, albeit a minor one. I had hoped, during initial planning, that I would be allowed access to the prisoner’s case files so that I could carry out some documentary analysis to supplement the interviews. However, this was not to be. It is unsure whether this wariness was as a consequence of their antipathy towards research, or based on a suspicion about anybody new entering their world. It could be suggested probably the latter, and similarly it could be suggested (but this could almost be seen as a conspiracy theory viewpoint) that they had something to hide, and had concerns about what I would discover, and what would happen to the information.
- A limitation of the study, over which I had no control, was the sample size, which could be considered small. As a consequence of the rarity of the sample, and the access difficulties, this was never expected to be a large sample. I feel that this was compensated for by the richness of that data, and the fact that data was even gathered at all from this unique site. The use of the case studies was prudent to supplement the interviews as they were contextually relevant and pertinent, and being theoretically sampled they aided data saturation as well as adding to the depth, breadth, and richness of the data.
- One area, whilst neither a limiting factor, nor a limitation, could be perceived as either, was the decision not to include Prison Officers in the sample. As this research was focused from the outset on the prisoners and their experiences of the phenomenon of segregation, the

environment, and experience, Prison Officers were not considered for inclusion. This was a deliberate choice though does open the way for further (all inclusive) research.

Suggestions for Further Research

As a consequence of this Doctoral research a number of areas for possible future research are evident:

- Further research could be carried out to test the viability, and applicability of, this multiple theory understanding, and contextual application, of power. This could possibly be with similar populations, certainly where power is a major feature of any interactions, and understanding of how power is used, and applied to, and by, the sample is required.
- A more in depth and robust exploration of the substantive theory as a whole, as well as the individual constituent parts. This would be with the intention to give this thesis additional validity and applicability, as well as adding further meaning, definition, clarity, and understanding to both this thesis as well as the substantive theory.
- Any replication of this Doctoral study could, and possibly should, include Prison Officers within the sample. This would be with a view to enhancing the range of data sources, but it could also be used to highlight comparisons, similarities, and differences in their experiences, and how they co-constitute these in the explication and utilisation of power, either a single, or multiple model application.

Suggestions for Education and Practice Development

- The findings of this study have potential in the preparation and education of Prison Officers. This could be in their initial preparatory training, as they commence employment within the Prison Service, but also as officers prepare for work within the Segregation Unit. This could look at a number of issues derived from the construction of this substantive theory which have an impact upon the relationship between prisoner and officer, and offer an understanding of how power is being interplayed and enacted.

An understanding of the power interplay between prisoner and officer, and an understanding of the rationale behind why the prisoners are acting in one of the ways defined and explicated within this thesis, could necessitate, and bring about changes in the support offered to prisoners within the Segregation Unit.

This could therefore have a consequential effect of bringing about a re-examination of the policy(ies) and practices pertaining to the prisoner being placed in segregation, and the relevance and appropriateness of this, as well as a range of alternative sanctions.

Chapter Summary and Thesis Closure

This chapter revisited the main points of this thesis and offered, by way of a summary, a concise overview of the issues and elements contained within. This demonstrated the development of this substantive theory, as it emerged. This chapter raised some of the limiting factors and limitations of this study and discussed implications of the emergent theory for future research, education and practice development.

Despite the findings of this research and the above suggestions, recommendations, and implications, there will always be a need for

segregation and solitary confinement (and thus segregation unit(s)). Those prisoners who break the organisational rules and regulations will require the austere and controlling environment of The Segregation Unit as much as those who are perpetually rebellious or anti social in attitude and personal beliefs, and who continue to act out in equally anti social and violent ways. Throughout this thesis a greater understanding can be had as to why prisoners perform the behaviours they do (excluding when its' causation is due to mental illness).

As has been shown throughout this thesis, there is an alternative way of perceiving how, and why, the prisoners are acting and behaving when in the Segregation Unit. They are not acting out to be rebellious or anti social, despite the fact that their actions appear to be this, they are, in reality, engaging in this behaviour in order to ensure their survival of that environment and experience.

It is imperative that the prison authorities, and especially the Prison Officers working in the Segregation Unit, appreciate that prisoners are acting in this manner because they are creating a survival space. As a consequence of this appreciation and understanding, Officers responses would/should be different, which then has an impact upon power and the way it is being utilised as well as the relationship that is entered into. This change in approach would require a different response in return from the prisoner. The (anti social) activities would undoubtedly still continue as these are their survival behaviours but understanding the reason behind them would alter the response and attitudes from the Officers. It could be suggested that prisoners could be 'helped' to survive and also through the survival process. This (possibly) could negate the need to utilise their methods of reframing contextual power in the creating of a survival space. This would require, and ensure, more support for those that required it, and could mean a different approach to the performance of segregation, maybe a truly individual response rather than an individually collective response.

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Appendices

Appendix 1:

‘The Contextual Researcher: celebrating ‘experiential alertness’ in grounded theory in prison research’ (Kirby 2007), (required converting from .pdf)

Appendix 2:

Ethical Approval Letters (Scanned Copies of)

University of Teesside

Her Majesty’s Prison Service

Authorisation to enter with recording equipment

Appendix 3:

Participants Forms

Participant Information Sheet

Participant Informed Consent Form

Participant Agreement Form

Appendix 4:

An example section of an interview transcript

Appendix 5:

An example of the conceptual and theoretical relationship of codes, categories and axial codes pertaining to one sub core category and the core category.

Appendix 6:

Graphical Representation of Substantive Theory

Appendix 1:

'The Contextual Researcher: celebrating 'experiential alertness' in grounded theory in prison research' (Kirby 2007), (required converting from .pdf)

The contextual researcher: celebrating 'experiential alertness' in grounded theory in prison research

'Without deviation from the norm, progress is not possible'

Frank V Zappa.

In this paper, Stephan Kirby demonstrates and explores an approach to grounded theory research within the segregation unit of a high secure prison. The paper illustrates how he utilised 'experiential alertness' (EA) to promote the effective use of grounded theory. Experiential alertness is a term created to explain and explore the positive use and application of contextually developed experience and how this impacts dynamically on the research process being undertaken. In this sense it is considered to be experience and knowledge derived from and combined with the effects of a specific environment and context. The paper also explores how EA supports and compliments Strauss and Corbin's approach to grounded theory. As such, EA conforms to Annells's (1996) belief that Strauss and Corbin's techniques encourage the use of one's own experience and acquired knowledge to advantage, rather than seeing it as an obstruction, although caution is advised that it should not block out seeing what is significant in the data.

Introduction

This paper will define and explore an adaptation of Strauss and Corbin's methodology within the framework of a very specific project, reflecting the postmodern stance that there are no absolute truths. By rejecting scientific method as the only way to uncover or construct truths (Rolfe 2000), the researcher was able to adapt an approach to grounded theory as proposed by Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Annells (1996). This is distinguished by openly acknowledging the existence and usage of the researcher's prior experience and knowledge base. The terms 'contextual

issues in research

researcher' and 'experiential alertness' are used to conceptualise and operationalise this process within the context of this research, and further exploration of these terms will form the basis of the remainder of this paper. The paper is not intended as a review or critique of grounded theory, as there are more extensive and intensive reviews elsewhere (e.g. Annells 1996, 1997a, 1997b; Hutchinson 1986, McCann and Clarke 2003a, 2003b, 2003c; Parse 2001, Stern 1985, Strauss 1987, Strauss and Corbin 1990, 1994, 1998). A degree of familiarity with and understanding of the issues surrounding grounded theory as a methodology is therefore assumed.

The contextual researcher

When defining the 'contextual researcher', the context of the research is a segregation unit within a Category A prison. Segregation, which will be explored further in this paper, is a self-contained secure unit for separating and housing prisoners who have offended against prison discipline. Segregation units also house those who have self-harmed; those deemed in need of protection; the mentally ill; those awaiting adjudication to receive possible further sanctions; or anyone within the prison who is seen as a control and management problem.

Experiential alertness

To assist in defining experiential alertness (EA), a metaphor will be offered. Experience and contextual knowledge are seen as metaphoric rings on a tree. Just as a tree gathers a ring as each year passes, so is another layer of experience and knowledge gathered by the researcher with every prisoner and member of staff encountered, with each event and incident that occurs, with every tale and anecdote heard. Alertness is the ability to apply this experience and knowledge in an environmentally contextual manner, through actions, discourse, and understanding. The environment and social context allow the two elements to be fed by and feed from each other. The environmental context in this research, the prison culture and micro social environments, form this EA, and the more experiences encountered the greater the understanding; the deeper the

understanding and frequency of the application, the more knowledgeable and contextual the experiences. Therefore, to continue the arboreal metaphor, alertness is ivy climbing around the trunk of the tree; the more the tree grows, the more the ivy grows, and together they form a symbiotic organism that is experiential alertness, mutually influencing one another.

By reflecting the notion that knowledge is socially constructed, EA is unique as it confirms the authenticity of 'individual knower' (Rolfe 2000) in the context in which it is being used. Given that institutions such as this research site exist as external realities, and an individual cannot understand them by introspection (Berger and Luckmann 1966) but must 'go out and learn' about them, in this sense EA is created. Removed from the context in which it has been developed, EA is useless, thus its contextual exclusivity (the prison environment) reveals that in the postmodern sense this story is unique to this research study, for it has been captured and is told by this researcher in a unique environmental context understood through this researcher's unique EA.

Reflexivity is the process by which the researcher and the research object (the respondent) mutually and continually affect one another during the course of the research process (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2000). It is a two-way process that commences and finishes with the research interaction. The effect upon the researcher and participant will be taken into the interpretation and other subsequent phases. The researcher acknowledges how personal experiences and contexts inform the process and outcomes of inquiry (Etherington 2004). Thus, research is co-constituted; it is a joint product of the participants, the researcher, and their relationship (Finlay 2002).

Experiential alertness (as a conceptual extension of reflexivity) focuses on the contextually exclusive knowledge and experiences a researcher has acquired prior to the interaction. Therefore, this is acknowledged, accepted, utilised in developing a research strategy, and openly taken into the research. By being experientially alert, the researcher can tailor data

issues in research

collection along well informed lines, and the subsequent questions can be contextually and meaningfully grounded.

The influence of EA upon the research process ensures that it is contextually influenced and grounded. This does not mean that both parties will, within the meeting and ensuing interaction, stop being part of a process of mutual influence. Rather, EA provides the contextual lens through which the researcher can focus this experientially acquired knowledge, thus demonstrating ability to act as a vehicle in which the interaction becomes a mutual learning environment.

While the reflexive researcher brings experience into the research relationship, the emphasis is on how mutual conditioning occurs. In a sense therefore, the experience is negative, something that has to be monitored and controlled. As such, reflexivity is dynamic and occurs during the research process. The emphasis of EA is on the positive use of experience developed prior to the research commencing, and how it influences and ensures a mutual understanding between researcher and participants. To be open and openly 'admit' and embrace a prior knowledge base and experiences similar to those of respondents will serve to reduce any possible ambiguity and increase clarity.

Reflexive researchers consider their own position in relation to the quality of the data analysis. What is being described here is the more active use of EA. With EA we are not examining our own prejudices in order to see how they affect the interpretation of something strange; we are celebrating the abilities experience allows us in relation to the phenomenon. This means, for example, knowing and using the correct language so that people trust the researcher in relation to gaining access or gathering valuable contextually appropriate data.

Over the years of being connected with prisons (Her Majesty's Prison Service and other secure environments, this researcher has developed a very deep knowledge base and understanding (EA) of the practicalities of

such environments. This process of absorption has occurred naturally over years of involvement with the social, organisational, and political environments of HMPS. Describing such knowledge acquisition as 'knowing from', Shotter (1984, 1993a, 1993b) refers to the unique interaction-specific knowledge that a person both obtains from, and needs, to function in a specific conversational situation. By virtue of its 'open endedness and embodiment in the hurly-burly of everyday conversation' (Shotter 1993a), this level of knowledge provides the opportunity for give-and-take in conversation that allows for the negotiation of agreed meanings.

The result is a researcher who is firmly grounded in the social and cognitive processes surrounding prisons and other secure confines. While we should still attempt to disentangle our perceptions and understandings from the phenomenon being studied, it is impossible to divorce and be dissociated from EA during any phase of the research process, and interpretations and ongoing revelations of the subject under scrutiny are one and the same.

Segregation: The context of the contextual researcher

In an attempt to give the reader an insight into the segregation community, its environment, inmates and regime (while maintaining confidentiality), anecdotal and general comments drawn from within HMPS, this research and from HMCIP (Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons) reports on other (anonymous) Segregation Units are offered. While these have been drawn from a range of sources, such evidence should be treated cautiously and considered as isolated cases. While it should be acknowledged that, from a postmodern stance, they could be true, they are but one presentation of a multitude of truths about segregation. One's stance, knowledge and experience of this social world will determine whether these are accepted as fact or fiction; as common occurrences; or isolated cases. It becomes apparent that this researcher has to work within a postmodern hyperreality (Baudrillard 1981) as well as reality, for perceptions such as those presented here are created and perpetuated by

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the media and subscribed to by a sensation-seeking populace which cannot differentiate between tabloid journalism and fact.

The uniqueness and special-ness of prison segregation, in research as well as social terms, presents a number of issues that, in other circumstances, would be accepted without a second thought and not be problematic. The most immediate and obvious feature is the fact that prisons, especially those in the high secure estate, are 'closed books' and are not readily accessible, therefore the inherent narrative of these areas is not readily available to the public or most researchers.

Segregation units have wrapped a cloak of mystery about themselves which is intensified by tales that are occasionally make public (sometimes true, but frequently not, being the product of prison mythology and legend) regarding the 'hard men', 'the problem prisoners', and 'the ultra violent' that inhabit such units. Images abound of Victorian punishment blocks within tough, brutally strict militaristic regimes. Some prisoners arrive in segregation in an agitated or frightened state following a fight or after having been assaulted; others are very often relieved to be away from the turmoil of life on the wings or threats and bullying from other prisoners. Dealing with this difficult mixture of prisoners requires highly specialised Prison Officers, doing a highly specialised job. Yet it has been noted that 'the necessary authority that prison staff working in Segregation Units have was being abused to bully prisoners into accepting whatever restrictions they wished to arbitrarily impose'. Condemnation of the staff is compounded when staff were considered to be 'menacing and threatening', resulting in an environment which was 'deeply intimidating'. In addition, 'there are staff there who are incredibly anti social...' (Interview 1).

It becomes evident then that these units prefer their own company and privacy and do not encourage visitors other than those that are necessary and official, for the job they perform is a difficult one, at times dangerous, yet often rewarding. Gaining access to this environment is not easy for

people who are not part of the prison fraternity. Even 'outsiders' with an authorised reason for being there are treated with suspicion and rarely let inside the door.

This somewhat negative and disparaging view of segregation is presented so that by placing these issues into the open we can now see them for what they are: myths, legends, rumours, or truths; and by doing so, attempt to rid ourselves of any prejudices and misconceptions about such places. By accepting and perpetuating these views as urban myths, we should recognise that there is always an element of truth present, a mixture of fact and fiction. By addressing them, we can now decide whether to believe them or not, and in doing so we can progress by seeing these units for what they are: a necessarily de-stimulating and calming environment designed to control and manage some of the most challenging of behaviours presented by one of the most challenging yet interesting of populations. The benefits of this are that it allows staff the opportunity to get to know the prisoners as individuals and attempt to redress the 'humanising imbalance creating by this (extra) incarceration'.

The contextual researcher and hermeneutics

The researcher undertaking this project has no direct affiliation with HMPS other than academic, has never being employed by HMPS, nor experienced it 'at the receiving end'. Yet he is one of a unique breed of people who are at ease in and around these environments and their populations and comfortable with this type of restrictive and confined environment and not perturbed by the unusualness of these situations and their demands. The result is a researcher who is considered an odd, unusual individual, though it could be argued that it takes an unusual person to function and perform in unusual environments. This researcher is contextually socialised and comfortable with the ways of secure and penal systems. Therefore, he is acutely conscious of the social and (sub-) cultural vagaries of this environment and population. This includes an acute awareness of the need to have respect for the prisoners. As they can be difficult and demanding as well as engaging and interesting, it is

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essential to have a clear awareness and respect for their criminological and behavioural potential at all times and a finely tuned sense of personal safety. This said, their criminological and antisocial potential should not be a distraction from their value as a source of information and they should be treated with respect, especially if we are to ensure and maintain political and organisational support.

The researcher needed an awareness of the impact of his personal values, prior knowledge, assumptions, and experiences relating to a range of aspects: the sample, the sample sites, and historical, organisational, cultural, sub cultural, sociological and prison mythological factors. An example of this is taken from the analytical notation of fieldwork where personal impressions and experiences are consistently being recorded in an attempt to ensure continual awareness. It quickly became evident that being totally objective when coding and creating theoretical memos (Strauss and Corbin 1990) was going to be an impossible task.

Progress Note #3: '... I am still not convinced that I am doing this right – even if there is a right way – though I suppose I need to just go with my intuition and gut feelings on this – what C [PhD Director of Studies] was saying last week about going for a more Corbinian approach and letting my knowledge and experience of prisons – not so much influence – be part of the coding – appears to be working at this early stage ...'

As reflexivity is fundamental to EA the process of 'continually reflecting upon our interpretations of both our experience and the phenomena being studied so as to move beyond the partiality of our previous understandings and our investment in particular research outcomes' (Finlay 2003) is particularly pertinent. In Gadamerian terms, EA involves a positive evaluation of the researcher's own experience in order to understand something of the fusion of horizons between subject and object (Gadamer 1975).

In adopting this position of inquiry the researcher is, metaphorically, standing on the border between two countries and while drawing from and absorbing the cultures from both sides, letting neither overly or overtly influence or dominate his actions and perceptions: standing at the border between critical realism (object) and social constructionism (subject). By endeavouring to understand further and utilise the distinctions (Guba and Lincoln 1994) between Glaserian and Strauss and Corbin's approaches from a postpositivistic stance to grounded theory, this researcher accepts the influences of Heidegger (1962) and Gadamer (1975) when they discuss the hermeneutic circle.

Epistemologically speaking, this hermeneutic circle (Heidegger 1962, Gadamer 1975) addresses ways in which two people during a conversation mutually transform each other's ideas through continuing interaction, facilitated and enhanced further. The use of a shared, mutually understood language allows us not only to understand each other's definitions of shared situations, but also to reciprocally define them (Berger and Luckmann 1966). An acute awareness of the quality of the conversations has to be maintained, for discrepant narratives cannot construct realities. This is further enhanced, this researcher asserts, by one of the partner's acceptance and use of EA. This ever changing and continuous movement of partners and their interrelatedness in social interchange is described by Gergen (1988) as 'the dance'. The internal dialogue in the hermeneutic circle is one in which the researcher continually articulates using metaphors, 'elucidating similarity in difference' (Gadamer 1989), explanatory principles, and prior knowledge to understand what is read or heard in an interview. To prevent such discrepant narratives in this research, it is not only prudent for the researcher to metaphorically 'talk the talk', but also essential that he demonstrate that he is competent and confident to engage in it and can legitimately use it. The ability to use appropriately discourses and narratives that are contextually grounded and relevant is due to EA. The mutually recognised and understood scripts and storylines for these 'informed conversations' are derived and drawn from a shared

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understanding of the environments and contexts from which they are drawn.

From the postmodern perspective, a metaphor can be simple or extended, overused or innovative. It achieves its effect by holding in tension two incomparable meanings that reveal some new insight (Grassie 1997) and as such are very powerful in creating meaning. Hermeneutic grounded theory encourages the use of metaphor and this is used throughout both the research and this paper to help people understand the nature of segregation and Segregation Units. Emphasising how we can know another's thought through our own words and mind, Geertz (1973, p. 69) describes an 'intellectual movement ... a conceptual rhythm ... a continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structure'. Thus, acknowledging the importance of a hermeneutic stance allows for any theories to be achieved through the construction rather than the capture of new information.

Such 'little narratives' (Lyotard 1984) are considered a legitimate form of postmodern knowledge, for as Rolfe (2000) informs us, narrative knowledge involves more than simply the transmission of the facts from the 'knower' to the 'unknowing'. The narrative therefore also carries implicit messages about the culture in which it is being told (Rolfe 2000) and from where it is gathered.

A tourist abroad: negotiating and gaining access

Because of necessary mistrust and suspicion, access to Segregation Units, for anyone other than official prison staff on anything other than official prison business, is not something that the majority of people are likely ever to have. So, for an academic, with purely academic reasons for wishing to gain access to this environment and its unique and at times intense population, the process of gaining access was convoluted but fruitful. The relationship between the external researcher and prison staff is one which has to be developed carefully to ensure the correct balance

between friendship and professionalism, as the relationship is built on potentially unstable ground.

Anything and anyone can make this relationship and access to the site precarious and cause it to stumble and fall.

By demonstrating EA during negotiations and showing that you have a clear understanding of the internal politics, processes and security issues and that you have 'a history' in and around such environments is beneficial to the access-gaining procedure as well as your overall standing and status. By clarifying your experience and understanding of the factors that need to be considered at all times, you are acknowledging that you clearly understand that this can be a dangerous place, one where misconceptions can easily arise. You are showing that not only can you 'talk the talk' but that you can 'walk the walk'. So in practical terms, you are walking with officialdom, the Governors and staff, and talking with the prisoners, the sample group.

Within such research sites, security and the process of security adherence will take precedence over everything. If someone within the prison decides that you cannot come in and carry out an interview or collect some other form of data, then you will not get in. If you can demonstrate that you are experientially alert and that you 'can dance' (Gergen 1988) then the governors, Officers and other gatekeepers may feel less threatened by permitting and undertaking a grounded theory interview to occur with someone who they feel does not have 'two left feet'; or will 'tread on their toes' or the toes of their prisoners during the dance.

With this in mind, it could be suggested that the relative ease with which the researcher gained access to these participants was made possible as a direct result of his demonstrable EA.

Learning a foreign language: data collection

Holloway (2005) talks about getting 'the right voice' and this is clearly essential to demonstrate EA further. To be able to engage effectively with the participants this researcher had to temporarily divorce himself from his psychiatric nursing background, and proclaim himself purely as a researcher, for fear that participants might feel some form of covert psychiatric testing was being carried out. However, this researcher's nursing history is part of the developmental process that constructed EA, so it cannot be ignored. Essentially it is simply not divulged; it takes a selective and contextual backseat in the use of EA. This did not result in a reduction in quality of the conversations, for the influences of his psychiatric nursing interpersonal skills on the data collection allowed for interviews which had an undercurrent of meaningful engagement which allowed for a co-constructive approach, appropriately talking the talk. A case then, of using the right identity to let EA adopt the right voice.

This gentle form of subterfuge was deemed necessary by both the researcher and especially by the prison authorities, and was felt to be justified as there was no reason why the participants should know this information. By not disclosing, there would be no effect on the researcher-participant relationship, while disclosure could prejudice and possibly jeopardise the research and researcher and not allow for the effective use of EA. In such a closed and private environment, status and acceptance is built upon an individual's reputation, perceived trustworthiness, and 'belonging', thus the demonstration of EA and the use of an informed shared language can help to illustrate and reinforce credibility and worthiness to carry out the research. So if you cannot demonstrate 'belonging' through EA and the use of a shared discourse, then you cannot expect to be deemed credible, and any research may as well be halted as participant co-operation and ultimate dynamic involvement is dependent upon this basic maxim.

This is especially true when the human subjects in question are all convicted prisoners, who by definition and enforced social status are

deemed untrustworthy and capable of sabotaging anything they feel may be from or for the organisation. We should remind ourselves that there is a possibility that such difficult behaviour may simply be out of habit, or for something to do to relieve the boredom. It also has to be accepted that it may be 'the celebrity of crime' that is motivating the inmate to talk to you, the chance to be vain, or the opportunity to brag and reinforce his social status.

However, this does not apply to the majority of participants within such a setting, for most people are more than happy to talk to researchers, pending necessary approval. They have nothing to gain from being disruptive; rather, it gives them a chance to talk to somebody who genuinely wants to listen to what they have to say, somebody new in the ocean of sameness, routine and monotony:

'99 per cent of what I will do today is exactly the same as I did yesterday ... and tomorrow ... and every other day after that ... 99 per cent of prison life is pure drudgery ... there is nothing to do ... there really is nothing to do'. (Interview 1)

The opportunity for new conversations is a mutually beneficial arrangement, as grounded theory allows and indeed privileges in-depth interviewing and for a relationship between researcher and participant to build up. This is in stark contrast to other methods of prisoner research such as psychometric assessments, which requires them to complete forms anonymously and probably without ever meeting the researcher. It is obvious that spontaneity and flexibility borne of interaction are central to this, as in such situations and environments prescribed moves do not work.

Learning to dance: data analysis

Under normal circumstances the process of confirming methodological validity and reliability are addressed by seeking feedback from respondents relating to any theory generated. However, here lies another

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example of how this research diverts from the traditional. Such is the exceptional nature of this sample that a return visit, or indeed any further contact with the prisoners is very difficult, if not impossible, for security and confidentiality reasons. This becomes an important role for EA from two perspectives, confirmatory and developmental. The researcher needs to use EA to establish whether the story, the narrative has 'grab and fit'; that the theory being unfolded is contextually sensible in its construction. This will allow the researcher to determine the effectiveness of EA as a methodological framework. Within such a framework, ontology and epistemology merge because the 'knower' is inseparable from whatever can be known within the overall constructions of any particular reality (Blaikie 1993). This 'cultural straddling' embodies and further illustrates the epistemological application of EA.

By openly acknowledging the existence and usage of EA the researcher was reflexively able to apply his personal experiences and knowledge to the ensuing rounds of transcribing, coding, and the application of theoretical memos. By focusing on socio-psychological situations, grounded theory deals not only in interactions but also in what people tell themselves about themselves and their interactions. This understanding supports and influences the ongoing categorisation and naming of data and hopefully ensures the results accurately reflect the participants' experiences and descriptions of prison life rather than over-theorising the results.

The ensuing theory is continuously being revised to account for differences in data until the 'best grab and fit' seems to be achieved. There is a saying that poems are never completed, only abandoned; similarly it can be said that a grounded theory can never really be complete, for future revisions are always possible.

Conclusions

In her exploration of grounded theory, Annells (1996) points out that neither the classic (Glaserian) nor the Strauss and Corbin approaches are

presented as 'right or more right' (Annells 1997a). This, surely, is a message that qualitative researchers, especially novices, should bear in mind. There is no right, nor particularly wrong, way to approach grounded theory; there are however a range of practical and philosophical variations on a theme, to both these approaches to grounded theory inquiry. Hopefully this paper demonstrates how this adaptation and approach to grounded theory has maintained philosophical and methodological rigour and appropriateness.

Diversification should not be interpreted as a case of one approach being superior to the other, but rather as an indication that grounded theory is maturing and branching (Annells 1997a). Although both approaches have evolved from the original work (Glaser and Strauss 1967) each has its distinct epistemology and related properties. The fact that there is now more than one approach isn't surprising, as similar schisms have taken place in other research approaches.

The celebration of this approach is in its uniqueness and the necessary and dynamic use of EA, as it can be questioned whether such a knowledgeable study would otherwise have been produced without it. So if using EA is being different and this diversity is deviant then so be it and more of it.

Stephan Kirby MSc, PgC(L&T), Dip MDO, RMN, PhD Candidate, is Senior Lecturer, Forensic Mental Health, School of Health and Social Care, University of Teesside, Middlesbrough, UK.

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Appendix 2:

Ethical Approval Letters (Scanned Copies of)

University of Teesside

Her Majesty's Prison Service

Authorisation to enter prison with recording equipment (Her Majesty's Prison Service)

Scanned Copy of University of Teesside Ethical Approval Letter



PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

Direct Line: 01642 384986

17th March 2003

Stephan Kirby
School of Health and Social Care
University of Teesside

Dear Stephen

Study 23/03 – “Life in A Segregation Unit” (Working Title). Researcher: Stephan Kirkby. Supervisors: Dr Chris Stevenson, Dr Phil Woods & Professor Phil Barker

Thank you for clarifying the points raised by the Research Ethics Committee. I would like to confirm that the study can now proceed.

The School of Health & Social Care Research Ethics Committee wish you well with your study.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'Tricia Forster'.

Tricia Forster
Chair
Research Ethics Committee
School of Health & Social Care



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE
Master Letter 3

VAT REG NO. GB 686 4809 81

DIRECTOR: PAUL KEANE
SCHOOL OF HEALTH & SOCIAL CARE
UNIVERSITY OF TEESSIDE
MIDDLESBROUGH TEES VALLEY
TS1 3BA
www.tees.ac.uk

TEL: +44 (0)1642 384100 FAX: +44 (0)1642 384105

Scanned Copy of Her Majesty's Prison Service Ethical Approval Letter
(To maintain anonymity names and addresses have been removed)



Stephen D Kirby
Senior Lecturer, Forensic Health & Social Care
School Of Health and Social Care
University of Teesside
Middlesbrough
TS1 3BA

Steve Kirby

PROPOSED RESEARCH IN HMP

Following our meeting on 27 January, as agreed I am writing to clarify a number of issues that we discussed.

We proposed that you will be given access to prisoners by using a cell that is constructed in order to allow staff excellent observation of the prisoner while maintaining the security of a locked cell door. The cell that will be used is No.10 on the ground floor. This will have the advantages of keeping a physical barrier between you and the prisoner, allowing minimum supervision by staff and facilitate the conduct of confidential interviews. You should be aware that this cell is often used in the management of prisoners that are deemed to present a risk to themselves. You should check on the availability on the day of any interview taking place.

Staff can be interviewed by booking a room on the unit. As I suggested both staff and prisoners will be most available in the afternoons between 1400 and 1600. There are approximately 32 full time members of staff and a transitory prisoner population averaging about 18 prisoners on the unit.

Regarding confidentiality we have discussed the necessity for this and agreed that all interviews with either prisoners or staff will remain confidential, with the exception of a serious breach of security or safety being identified. If this should occur you would immediately pass on the relevant information to Tony (b.b.b.) or myself (in our absence the operational manager on the unit).

With regard to the use of recording equipment this will be subject to normal security checks on entering the prison. This equipment will then remain secure in the prison when not in use, until all the interviews are completed. You will be able to remove tapes from the prison for the purpose of having transcripts typed up. All information should be kept confidential and only used in conjunction with your research and for no other purpose. We discussed the destruction of such material; at this stage I would like to keep the option of destroying all tapes, disks, transcripts and any copies other than those specifically agreed. I am currently seeking further guidance in this area.

Residential Support Services

Scanned Copy of Authorisation to enter prison with recording equipment
(Her Majesty's Prison Service)
(To maintain anonymity names and addresses have been removed)



Memorandum

From: [Redacted]

Tel: [Redacted]

To: Gate Senior Officer

Cc: Stephan Kirby

Date: 15/07/04

Subject: Electronic equipment into the prison

Please note that it has been agreed that Mr Stephan Kirby from the University of Teesside has permission to bring certain electronic equipment into the prison.

The equipment allowed is as follows:-

- Battery powered MP3 player
- Battery powered recordable Mini-Disk player
- Microphone

Mr Kirby has been made aware that he will need to bring a copy of this letter each time he visits the establishment and that will not be allowed to bring in any such equipment without it.

Yours sincerely

[Redacted Signature]

[Redacted Name]
A/Head of Residential Support Services

Appendix 3:

Participants Forms

Participant Information Sheet

Participant Informed Consent Form

Participant Agreement Form

Invitation to Participate in Research

Information Sheet

Hello

I am a researcher employed by the University of Teesside and I am carrying out a research study involving the Segregation Unit of this Prison. I am not an employee of this or any other prison nor of HM Prison Service in general.

I am exploring peoples' experiences of the Segregation Unit within this prison and I am contacting you as I understand you have recently been in Segregation

The research method I am using allows me to collect data through interview so, with your participation, I hope to understand what it is like to be a prisoner within the Segregation Unit.

I am interested in your personal experiences of Segregation so that I can gain a greater understanding of issues such as:

- ~ what happened to result in you being transferred to the Segregation Unit;
- ~ what life is like on a day-to-day basis;
- ~ how you coped and survived with the day-to-day life of Segregation;
- ~ any issues of physical and mental health problems as a result of being in this segregation unit.

Therefore, I am hoping to talk to you, in private, about you and your experiences in prison and particularly the Seg Unit. I must make you aware of a number of points from the beginning:

- At no time will the Prison Authorities or its staff see any of the information that I collect;
- Your name and every other means of identifying you (and which prison you are in) will be removed from all of the transcripts and reports that come out of this research. Your identity and your location will remain strictly confidential;
- Should you agree to take part you need to know that you can always withdraw at any time (with the option to return at a later date if you wish). If you do wish to withdraw from this research you may be certain that this will not adversely affect your time in the Unit (or within this prison) or any of your other statutory rights;

PTO

- You must also understand and be happy with the fact that I will be recording our conversations. This is so that I can type them up later to allow me to analyse the information. You should be aware that I will destroy – or erase – the recordings once they have been typed up. Once these have been typed up you can have a copy of the interview to ensure that what we discussed was a true record (this is dependent upon the Governor giving me permission to do so – this may not happen if doing so would breach any security regulations);
- You are not forced to take part in this research but I hope that you feel comfortable enough with these arrangements to do so;
- All I request from you is that you feel comfortable to talk freely and honestly to me. At no time will I discuss the topics or content of our discussions with anybody within or outside of the prison (with the exception of my Research Supervisors). The only exception to this which you must be very clear about is if I feel what you are telling me may possibly or definitely does or could result in a breach of security or in physical harm to another inmate or member of staff. At that point I will report this (but nothing else of what we have discussed) to the Wing staff (or any appointed Deputy).

If you decide to participate in the project please can you sign the following consent form to acknowledge that you are participating in this research of your own free will and nobody has forced you and that you have read and are agreeing to the above points.

Once you have signed the Agreement form please could you return it to Mr J [REDACTED] in the Healthcare Centre in the enclosed envelope.

If you agree to take part in this study I shall be back in touch to arrange a mutually convenient interview time.

Please accept my thanks in anticipation.

Yours sincerely

Steve Kirby



Participant Informed Consent Form

By signing this 'Participant Informed Consent Form' I am agreeing to take part in this research study and acknowledging that the Information Sheet has been read by me (or read to me) and I understand and agree with the points below:

- That I am agreeing to take part in this research and do so of my own free will, without any coercion.
- That my identity and location will remain strictly confidential
- That if I agree to participate I may withdraw at any time (with the option to return at a later date if I wish) and that withdrawal will not adversely affect any of my statutory rights;
- That the interviews will be recorded and that following transcription and analysis of the information they will be destroyed – or erased.
- That at no time will the topics or content of the discussions be disclosed to anybody within or outside of the prison. Should Steve feel that what I am telling him may possibly (or definitely does or could) result in a breach of security or be considered to result in physical harm to another inmate or member of staff, then I accept that he will report this (but nothing else of what we have discussed) to the Wing staff (or any appointed Deputy).
- I give my permission for the information to be used in a written dissertation and any further publications in a way which protects my confidentiality and anonymity.

- I understand the nature of the research and my likely contribution to it.

I understand that if I have any concerns or issues in relation to the study I can contact Steve personally (via the Wing staff) to discuss these concerns or queries.

By signing below I agree to take part in Steve's research and agree to all the above points and the issues raised in the Information Sheet

(Name) ----- (Location) -----

(Date) ----- (Signature) -----



Participant Agreement Form

I wish to take part in the research being carried out by Steve Kirby of the University of Teesside

I would be grateful if we could arrange a mutually convenient time and date to carry out the interview

I have read and am happy with the **Information Sheets** and **Informed Consent Forms**

(Name) ----- (Location) -----

(Date) ----- (Signature) -----

(Once signed please return this form only to Mr J [REDACTED], Healthcare Centre and keep the Information Sheet and Informed Consent sheet for my own information)

Appendix 4: An example section of an interview transcript

Interview #6 – 21 November 2005		
Line No	Participant (P) Researcher (R)	
1	R	<i>Introductory Pleasantries & information re research, informed consent</i>
2	R	JH tells me you've been in Seg recently ...
3	P	Yeah I was down there a couple of months ago ... Strangeways for a few months ... but the longest stint I did was about 3 year that was 1999 to 02 ...
4	R	Three years in Seg ...
5	P	Yeah ... but of that I spent ... what ... I'd say 2 years ... well 1 ½ maybe almost 2 years banged up and then they got me out cleaning ... so I was running around Seg cleaning and doing bits and bobs like that ... because it was to ... well it was just to reintegrate me and all that crap that's it ... that's that one ...
6	R	If I can ask ... what did you do to warrant nigh on 3 years in Seg ...
7	P	Well, I come ... I'm a convicted murderer so when I come in ... er ... they started worrying about hostages ... I was in YP cos I got lifed off at 18 ... and they started doing all the old ... I was going to take hostages ... I was going to do this and me file got bigger ... I went to slash one of the screws throats ... stuff like that ... so I went down to Seg on SO and 3 unlock ... and then it just escalated ... screws starting reading me files ... opinionating and writing more stuff and things and it just grew and grew and grew ... they moved me to Woodhill when I was 18 ... I stayed in Woodhill Seg ... went on the wings for a few weeks and then ended up back down the Seg and that was it ... I stayed down there ...
8	R	And it was always SO and 3 man ...
9	P	Not always no ... that only lasted till I got to Woodhill ... and then Woodhill took me off it ... cos Woodhill's a serious nick ... Glen Parva ... where I was ... it was YP ... it was a bit ...
10	R	How old were you ... 18? ... what's it like at 18 being in Seg
11	P	You know what ... it's a mentality ... I don't know if it was just me ... with some people ... you know ... don't get me wrong ... in Glen Parva there was people crying at night ... there was people acting the Bigun and there was people down there on protection ... me I was on the SO and 3 ... I had a bloody great red bulb above me head all day long ... cos I was on the E list as well ... I smashed a window out on the wing ...
12	R	E list being ...
13	P	Escapee ... I took the window out of my cell and what they've got in there ... and to be honest it drove me absolutely nuts ... they spray painted the cover of the lights red ... because what it is ... is so the door patrols can see what cell you are in ... the light has to be on 24 hours a day ... so you imagine this

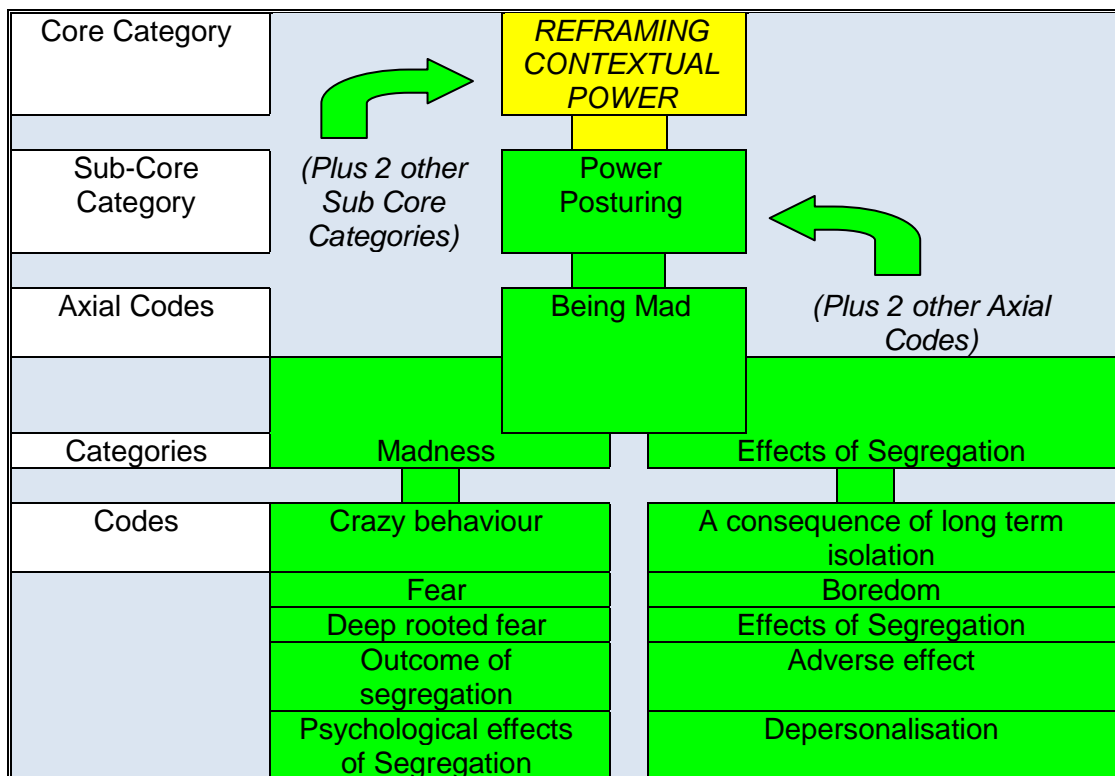
		constant red glow ... that's all it is just red ... the cover is spray painted red ... so the red ... its everywhere ... you look at your food ... you know its dark at 4 o'clock in winter ... your food is red ... whatever you are reading ... your book ... its red ... the page it reflects the red ... to be honest it drives you absolutely nuts ... every time that door opened I just wanted to fight ... I was just so ... Grrr ... can you understand that ...
14	R	Is not exactly a peaceful colour is it ...
15	P	No ... I don't think so ... but it just ... when I was in the situation it was just pure ... Oh Gee ... I tell you ...
16	R	So that response you had was to the red rather than being in Seg ...
17	P	Yeah ... it was more the red bulb than anything else ... that light ... God ... the amount of times I wanted to smash it off ... and some of the night clubees started turning it off for me ... because I was going absolute ... but when you are on an SO and 3 you get more respect ... the screws'll respect you ... because ... when I was down the Seg on GOAD ... the screws will respect you ... they don't want to fuck with you because they've got to open your door 3 times a day to feed you and exercise so you are left alone ... that's a good thing ... but you get used to the solitary ... its nice ... its nice ...
18	R	What did you have in your cell ... nothing ...
19	P	Well in Glen Parva ... everything was bolted to the wall ... it was stainless steel but bolted to the wall ... because you are GOAD and not CC you were entitled to certain privileges ie: you can have your tea bags, you can have this you can that ... you can have your books ... and bits and bobs ... but Glen Parva didn't like ... well they didn't like me at the time ... some of the screws ... they took me photographs off me ... things like that ... they broke me bars of soap in half looking for blades and that sort of stuff ... petty ... erm ... I trained ants ... me mates take the piss out of me for this ... but I was that bored ... but one night I woke up ... cos the beds you had to fold up to the wall ... and as you pulled them down ... they were about this high off the floor ... about 3" or whatever ... and this one night I was covered in bugs ... fucking ants and everything ... and I got sugar water ... and the toilet bit was separate and I lined sugar water along ... and if the ants crossed the sugar water I squished them ... and what I found out was they'd come out of their nest and they'd pick up the dead bodies and take them back to the nest ... yeah the little ants do ... and if you don't squish them their antenna keep moving and they come and get them and take them back ... and eventually what I did was ... I made a little maze of sugar water ... you know dry on either side like a little path with a biscuit at the end ... and all these ants used to go down the sugar water and pick up the crumbs of biscuit and come back ... and if they went either side of the sugar water ...
20	R	They got squished ...

21	P	They got squished ... I'll tell you what I spent months training them ... and ... they're very intelligent I have to say ... they're brilliant ... and they never come in me bed again but yeah that took me months that did ...
22	R	But what a way to spend your time ...
23	P	Yeah well it was either that or trying to get as many razor blades as I could and make a tool ... or trying to do this ... or trying to do that and that bloody red light ... but that was Glen Parva like so ...
24	R	You were saying the ... being on SO and 3 ... the screws ... respected that ... is that different in adult as opposed to YO ...
25	P	Yeah completely different ... the screws in Glen Parva ... there was Mr L* ... he used to bring me books in from home ... cos I'd read all the books they had in the library they had in the Seg ... and he used to bring me 2 books in ... because all I did was train and read ... they give me a little radio ... with 2 batteries ... little batteries ... AA ... with the long aerial ... that went up by me window ... that come on ... start training ... press ups ... shadow boxing all that ... you know ... trying to keep fit ... then back on me bed ... read ... and then try and get a decent nights kip with that bloody red light ... even when you put the sheets over your head you can still see red ... so ... when I ended up at Woodhill ... it was like ... when I walked into ... and that Seg ... it was massive ... Oh it was a big Seg ... if you've ever been there its massive ... its a big Seg ...
26	R	How many cells ...
27	P	(Thinks) Oooh ... erm ... you're talking ... you've got ... bacon ... what we used to call 'Baconsville' ... which all the nonce's went on ... the 2's landing ... I'm on the VP's now myself so I can't really talk ... lets see ... so you had ... 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, I think 9 along the 1's so that'll be 9 along the tops so that 18 ... plus round the other side you had your CC cells which was a 6 and a 6 ... your DP's ... Dirty Protest ... you had I think 2 or 3 of them ... your strip cells you had 2 of them ...
28	R	We're getting to 40 ish ...
29	P	Yeah ... its a big Seg ...
30	R	Cos there's what 13 ... 14 cells here ... something like that ...
31	P	Is that it ... I don't know ... cos this Seg's set out weird ... its like in a square ... an L shape and all you'll get to see is the yard and you go down for you scran and when you come back up ... it disorientates you this Seg ... you can't ... you know what I mean ... this Seg does disorientate you ...
32	R	I've been down there a few times ... and ... well ... I don't like it ... but then you are not meant to are you ...
33	P	But you do ... if you are banged up there ... you do ...
34	R	Do you feel safe ...
35	P	(Pauses and thinks) ... Yeah ... well ... you feel ... it can make you feel like God ... if you can understand that ... because they've got to open that door ... you've got them ... they go

		home at night ... they go ... they used to say to me when I was on the SO & 3 ... we're going home tonight B* ... see you later ... do one! ... and I would say ... yeah ... but you got to be up at 6 in the morning to come and unlock my door mate ... and when you open the door I'm going to go for you ... what are you going to do ... yeah you gotta get up ... and when he gets up in the morning he thinks Oh Fuck I've gotta open up B* today ... and there's me thinking (<i> rubs hands in mock glee </i>) ...yeah come on mate when you are ready ... do you know what I mean ... so it gives you that of ... I've got you over a barrel ... you haven't got me ...
36	R	I was talking to someone a while back and he was describing how he would spend a couple of months on the wing ... get bored ... get pissed off with the usual routine ... I need a holiday ...
37	P	It's the lads ... it's the people ... it's the close environment of the wing ... this morning I had a big bust up with a guy and all I can think of is I'm going to do you ... I'm a lifer ... and its ... there are 2 paths for me ... one ... I do natural life and do what the fuck I want ... when I want ... in prison and spend all me time down Seg and just ... Phuh ... get everything I want ... Two ... I get arse fucked by everyone in here but I get out ... what choice do I have ... hence the reason I'm now on the numbers cos I want to get out ...
38	R	On the numbers? ...
39	P	VP's ... with other sex offenders and the like
40	R	And that's your choice ... or are you there for a reason ...
41	P	Well I could have stayed at the top and carried on fighting ... I mean the person I shot turned out to be pregnant ... can't help that ... but a lot of people don't like it ... and I've got no friends now ... and the thing is I could stay up there if I am willing to stand my ground ... but it means I'm going to get extra years ... what do I do ...
42	R	Depends on what you want to do really doesn't it ...
43	P	I'm fed up with this and I'm fed up with the Seg ...
44	R	Can I ask how old you are ...
45	P	24 now ...
		<i>Cont</i>

Appendix 5:

An example of the conceptual and theoretical relationship of codes, categories and axial codes pertaining to one sub core category and the core category.



Appendix 6:

Graphical Representation of Substantive Theory

